D. J. Kurtâ



Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, M. A., Ph. D.
The late Parsee High Priest of Bombay.

AVESTA, PAHLAVI,

AND

ANCIENT PERSIAN STUDIES

IN HONOUR OF THE LATE

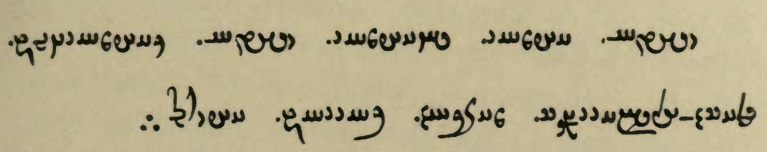
SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DASTUR PESHOTANJI
BEHRAMJI SANJANA, M.A., PH.D.

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TO THE SACRED MEMORY OF

SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DASTUR PESHOTANJI BEHRAMJI SANJANA, M.A., Ph.D.,

Head Priest of the Parsees, Bombay, 1857—1898,
Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhai Zarthoshti Madressa, 1862—1898,

Fellow of the Bombay University, 1866—1898,
Editor and Translator of the Pahlavi Dinkart, Vols. I—IX,
Author, Pahlavi Grammarian and Translator,

This volume
is respectfully dedicated by the European contributors.

INTRODUCTION.

This Memorial Volume has been compiled in appreciation and commemoration of the persevering, judicious, and successful labours of the late Shams-ul-Ulamā Dastūr Peshotanji Behrāmji Sanjāna, M.A., Ph.D., in the wide and perplexing field of Iranian research. Belonging to the Sanjāna family, he was probably a descendant of one of the Parsi priests who accompanied the first fugitive immigrants from Persia and settled at Sanjān. At an early age he was adopted into the family of the well-known Dastur Edalji Sanjana's only brother; and, after the death of that predecessor, in 1857, he was appointed high-priest of the Shāhānshāhi Parsis in Bombay, which dignity he worthily held till the day of his death (26th December 1898) at the age of 70 years.

His succession to the high-priesthood occurred at a time when the steady advance of European education, among the Parsis in Bombay, was making them dissatisfied with the limited knowledge of the priests supplied to them by the Dastūrs of Navsāri, by whom all such appointments were then made, and it was not till 1883 that Dastūr Peshotanji was able to overcome the opposition of the Navsāri priesthood, and to establish his right to initiate priests, and give them orders for practising as priests in Bombay. He published several pamphlets (such as his Tafsīr-i Gāh-i Gāsānī, Tafsīr-i Gāhanbār, Nīrang-i Javīt-dīnān, etc.) with the view of eliminating certain irregular practices and customs (some of which still continue) and of preserving the truth and purity of his religion. His success, in such controversial efforts, appears to have been chiefly due to his conciliatory firmness and his readiness to accept judicious compromise.

The late Professor Martin Haug of Muenchen, who, during his stay in India (in 1860-66), often met Dastūr Peshotanji, had always a high opinion of his learning and his willingness to impart it to others. In 1874-76, when last in India, I also met him on several occasions, and formed the same opinion, having been much assisted by him in obtaining copies of many of the scattered folios of the Dīnkard, and of another ancient MS. of miscellaneous texts, in his own library.

His works connected with Pahlavi literature were both numerous and important, all indicating as competent a knowledge of that complicated language as any contemporary scholar possessed. In most cases he has been the most advanced pioneer in his translations, well in advance of grammars and glossaries; and, though future translators may improve upon his work hereafter, it is doubtful whether any one could have done better at the same period.

His Vijirkard-î-Dēnīk (1848) is a Pahlavi treatise on various religious matters, resembling a Rivāyat, said to have been transcribed in 1754, from an Iranian MS. written in 1240 which the transcriber found in the Modī library at Surat, and containing several Avesta quotations, which are not easy to trace to their original source. This book is remarkable as being an early specimen of printing from Pahlavi and Avesta type.

His Gujarāti translation of the Pahlavi Kārnāmak of Ardashīr Bābagān (1853) was criticised by prejudiced Parsis as misrepresenting some of the actions of so virtuous a prince as Ardashīr, forgetting that a successful Shāhanshāh has always considered himself as above the law.

His Pahlavi Grammar (1871) is a voluminous and well arranged work, displaying a wide acquaintance with the

Pahlavi language and literature. It was much admired by Professor Haug, especially on account of its numerous quotations from Pahlavi MSS. which were then but little known.

But his most important work was his Dīnkard, giving the Pahlavi text, with a transliteration in Avesta characters and translations into Gujarāti and English ; of which nine volumes have been published between 1874 and 1900. The first two books of this valuable Pahlavi text have not been discovered ; but his nine volumes contain the whole of the third, fourth, and fifth books; leaving four more books to be edited by his able successor, Dastur Darabji.

He also published the Ganj-i Shāyagān and three other short Pahlavi treatises, that occur in old MSS., in 1886, with translations.

He was universally respected as the most learned Dastūr of his time, and the government of Lord Reay selected him as the first recipient of the title of Shams-ul-Ulamā in the Parsi community, as an official appreciation of his learning. He was Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhāī Zartoshti Madressa, from its foundation in 1863 till his death. He was Fellow of the Bombay University from 1866, and was a member of the Committee appointed by that University for establishing a course of studies in Avesta and Pahlavi for the higher examinations in Arts. The German Oriental Society also elected him as Member in 1875. And all Pahlavi scholars would, no doubt, agree that these honours were well deserved.

E. W. WEST.

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AVESTA LITERATURE,

FROM THE GERMAN OF

KARL F. GELDNER.

INTRODUCTION.

General Literature. — Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Législateur, les Cérémonies du Culte Religieux qu'il a établi, et plusieurs traits importants relatifs à l'ancienne Histoire des Perses: Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend, par M. Anquetil du Perron, 3 Vols. in 4°, Paris 1771. [Tome premier, première partie contains : l'introduction au Zend-Avesta, la relation du voyage du traducteur aux Indes Orientales, suivie du plan de l'ouvrage. Seconde partie : le Vendidad sadé (l'Izeschné, le Vispered et le Vendidad), la vie de Zoroastre. Tome second contains : Ieschts sadés, le Si rouzé, la Boundehesch ; deux vocabulaires ; l'exposition des usages civils et religieux des Parses, et le système cérémonial et moral des livres Zends et Pehlvis, table des matières.]

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taire historique et philologique, par JAMES DARMESTETER, Paris 1892-93, 3 Vols. in 4°, published in the Annales du Musée Guimet, tome 21, 22, 24, [wherever DARMESTETER simply is quoted, the reference is always to this main work].

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ED. MEYER, Geschichte des Alterthums, Erster Band, Geschichte des Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs, Stuttgart 1884. [Das Awesta, pp. 501-510].

K. GELDNER, Article "Zend-Awesta" in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XXIV, p. 775.—Prolegomena zur Avesta-Ausgabe (§ 11).

✓ W. JACKSON, Introduction to Avesta Grammar, Stuttgart 1892.

AWESTA.

§ 1. The Iranian nation, so far as it reverenced Ahura Mazda as its God and Zarathushtra as His prophet, was once possessed of an extensive sacred literature similar to the Veda of the Indians—the Awesta (masc. or neut.). There has never been unanimity in Germany as to the gender of the name.[1] The word comes to us from the Middle Persian which has no genders. The Pahlavi form is *avistāk*,[2] the Pâzend *avastā*. Neriosangh reproduces it in Sanskrit by *avistā* as in *avistāvāk* or *avistāvāṇī*, "Awesta-speech." The word can hardly be traced further back than the Sasanian era. Oppert is, however, of opinion that the word is already to be found in an inscription of the time of Darius in the form *abaštām* (Beh. IV, 64[3]), but the identification is at least doubtful. The word has been variously derived. The conjecture of Professor Andreas, orally communicated, has most probability on its side, namely, that *Avistāk* or *Avastāk* is to be traced back

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[1] Kleuker, Haug, and Weber use Awesta and Zendawesta in the masculine. The neuter form, however, predominates.

[2] This reading is followed by West, while Darmesteter, on the other hand, has Apastâk, I, XXXIX, note.

[3] Oppert, JA. 1872, XIX, 293; De Harlez, JA. 1876, VIII, 487; Spiegel, Die altpersischen Keilinschriften, 2nd ed., p. 103.

to the old form *upastā*, and thus signifies "foundation," "foundation-text" (like the Skr. *mūla*).

This explanation also accords with the facts, inasmuch as *avistāk* generally involves or expresses a contrast,[1] namely, the contrast between it and the added Pahlavi translation or explanation (*Zand*), which probably once was co-extensive with the whole Awesta literature, and which, in the form in which we possess it, does not go further back than the 6th Century A.D., and was thus probably edited under the later Sasanids or soon after their era. The foundation-text and the corresponding Pahlavi exposition were comprehended under the composite designation *Avistāk va Zand* (Neriosangh, *avistāvāṇī vyākhyánaṃ ca* "Awesta language and exposition"). The Parsi scholars of the present time also understand in this combination Awesta as the original text and Zand as the Pahlavi commentary.[2] The combination *Avistāk va Zand* occurs, however, not unfrequently in the Pahlavi translation of the Awesta itself. In this case Zand signifies the traditional exposition of the Awesta texts[3] handed down by the Schools, which served as the foundation of the Pahlavi translation reduced to writing. Through a misunderstanding Anquetil, and, before him, also Hyde,[4] has turned this into Zendawesta, understanding by Zend the language in which the sacred writing, the Awesta, was composed, an error which has asserted itself with great obstinacy since Anquetil's time.[5]

The Awesta literature was composed in a nameless dialect, in the old sacred language of Iran, which it is now customary to call "Awestic." Nothing which was not written in this language can claim to be reckoned as part of the sacred writings of Iran. On the other hand, there does not exist in this language any other kind of documents, any inscription, or any profane literature. For the Parsi scholars of to-day, as for the older Pahlavi authors, the language and the scripture are completely identical ideas; they call the language

[1] *Cf.* Dinkard, VIII, 6, 1 ; 12, 1 ; 20, 69 : IX, 32, 20.

[2] West, Essays², 119 ; so also Masudi 2, 126.

[3] There the exposition is called *āzainti*, with which the Pahlavi word *zand* is connected.

[4] Hyde, Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum, 1700, p. 337. With reference to the various forms of the name, see p. 332 of the same work.

[5] Anquetil, II, p. 424.

itself in which these scriptures were written, Awesta. Since all conjectures as to the home of this language are in the highest degree uncertain, it will be well to introduce into Europe also this usage which has the advantage of being ancient, and to call the language of the scriptures of the Parsis simply *Awesta.*

West has already given an exhaustive definition of the expression in his Glossary to the *Arda Viraf* under the word *Avistāk,*[1] when he explains it thus :—"Scripture, the sacred writings of the Parsis in their original language and hence applied to the language itself, which is commonly but erroneously called Zend; any quotation or text from the same scriptures."[2]

The Awesta literature has suffered an unfortunate fate. Already in ancient times after the period of Alexander near its decay, it was once more revived and rejuvenated under the Sasanids. From the 9th or 10th Century of our era the number of the believers in Mazda was continually dwindling, and the extent of their sacred scriptures steadily diminished. The former, the so-called Parsis, number at present only a little over 80,000 souls. The portion of their sacred literature, which has been preserved to our time, is a mere fragment of that ancient literature, and, when reduced to book-form, attains the compass only of a single good-sized volume. This is the *Awesta* in the narrower sense.

IDEA, CONTENTS, AND ANALYSIS OF THE AWESTA.

§ 2. The Awesta, in the more restricted sense, is still in use amongst Parsis as Bible and Prayer-book at the present day. It contains the liturgies for the general sacrificial celebrations and the "Law" that is recited on such occasions, and, in addition, the solemn invocations addressed to individual saints and the forms of prayer prescribed for the various occasions in common life. It bears thus in its essential character a liturgical stamp. It is only in consequence of their direct or indirect relation to liturgy that these scriptures have been so long preserved. Those portions of the Avesta literature which were

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[1] p. 13.

[2] Darmesteter, in the passage referred to, calls attention to an etymological play of words in the *Bundahish.* *Avistāk = avēzak stāyišn,* is accordingly said to mean "a pure ascription of praise."

outside the liturgy were no longer copied as being unnecessary for priestly purposes, and have thus for the most part been lost. It is, however, probable that not everything which is found in the Avesta was intended absolutely only to serve such ends.

Although, as already indicated, the Avesta is of moderate extent, there is no MS. which contains the whole Avesta. This alone is sufficient to make clear the character of the book. It is not a whole in the sense of a unity, but a complex collection of writings. It divides itself into a number of individual books, each complete in itself, and of loosely connected rubrics. The books and rubrical forms which are extant may be classified under five main divisions :—*Yasna*, *Vispered*, *Vendidád*, *Yashts* and *Khorda-Awestá*.

§ 3. YASNA (=Skr. *yajña*), Phlv. *yazišn*, the modern Izeshne—in the Sanskrit of Neriosangh *ijisni*—the chief liturgical book which is recited in honour of all the divinities collectively. It was composed for the purposes of the high office of the Izeshne which, apart from a number of subordinate performances, consists chiefly in the ceremonial preparation and offering of the Parāhōm (Aw. *parahaoma*), *i.e.*, the juice extracted from the Haoma plant, mixed with consecrated water, milk and aromatic ingredients. At this ceremony the whole Yasna from beginning to end is recited. The high service of the Izeshne is preceded by a preparatory ceremonial entitled Paragra.

The text has only in part a real and original connection with the ceremonial act which it accompanies. The *Yasna* is a variegated mixture of monotonous drawling formulæ and of interesting and in part very ancient texts. These heterogeneous elements have, however, been skilfully knit together into one whole. The larger sections have appropriate introductions prefixed to them and close with longer or shorter *resumés*. The Yasna is divided into 72 chapters, *hāiti*, named later *Hā*. This subdivision is traditional, although the MSS. of the Yasna do not number the chapters consecutively, nor do they always clearly mark the close of each chapter. The sacred cord of the Parsis, which marks them out as belonging to a particular religious community, is woven with 72 threads, which are intended to represent the 72 chapters of the Yasna.[1] This number is reached by an artificial method, several chapters being simply repetitions of some of the others.

[1] A. Führer in the Encyclopædia Britannica, XVIII, 325.

Thus Hā 5 is the same as 37; 18 the same as 47 with an introduction taken from 51, 7. In like manner Hās 63, 64, 66, 67 and 72 are simply made up of fragments of preceding texts. The Parsis divide the Yasna into two main sections,[1] namely, 1-27, and 28 to the end. Also in the ritual of the Yasna offering there is a division of the ceremony at chapter 27. The whole book may, however, be better divided into three longer sections :—1-27; 28-55; 56-72.

§ 4. The content of the Yasna, in other words, the course of the Yasna high service is as follows:—The introduction consists of formal invitations to the offering addressed to all the divinities and genii in a definite order according to their rank (1-2); the offering of the main oblation (*myazda*) and other offerings preceded by similar formulæ of invocation and consecration (3-7). This section ends at 8, 4. Then follows a prayer 8, 5-8. 8, 9 is an introduction to the interesting Hom-Yasht (Chaps. 9-11). In this the *Haoma* is glorified as a plant and as a divine being quite in the style which characterises the other Yashts (*cf.* §§ 8, 21). At the close the priest (Zôt) drinks the juice of the Haoma which has been prepared in the Paragra ceremony. Hâ 11, 16 again introduces a new section, the confession of faith of the Mazdayasnians which extends from 11, 17 to the end of 13. This confession is, properly speaking, made up of several which are named from their opening words—namely, *fravarānē* 11, 16; *frastuyē* 11, 17—12, 8; and *āstuyē*[2] 12, 9 to the end of 13. The most interesting of these pieces is the quite ancient specialized confession of faith in Chap. 12, which, according to Y. 13, 8, is also named the *fraorəti* (confession).

At Chapter 14 begin the *Staota Yesnya* which extend, with interruptions, probably as far as Chap. 58 (*cf.* § 23). They are interrupted by the invocation of the genii of the day (Chap. 16), of the times of the day and the seasons of the year, and the various forms of fire (17), by the homilies on the three most sacred prayers, known as the *Bakān Yasht* (19-21). Chaps. 22-27 contain an additional litany called *Hōmāst Yasht,* which accompanies the second preparation of the Haoma-juice which now begins. Chap. 27 at the same time forms the transition to the central part of the *Staota Yesnya* and to

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[1] Anquetil I. 2,73.

[2] *Cf.* the short "Description of the Gathas" in Shāyast-lâ-Shâyast, translated by West, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. V, pp. 352 *seq.*

the *Gâthâs* which are the centre and culmination of the whole *Yasna*, (*vide* § 22). These extend, with a few interruptions, from 28 to 54. Chap. 55 gives a short poetical resumè of them. Chap. 56, named "the small Srōsh Yasht," is preparatory to the large and comprehensive Srōsh Yasht which is contained in 57. Chap. 58 contains the so-called *Fšūšomāthra*, a glorification of prayer in general and the prayer to be uttered before the last judgment. This concludes the *Staota Yesnya*. Chap. 59 refers both to what precedes and to what follows and introduces the two next sections with renewed invocations. The first of these gives in Chap. 60 the so-called *dahma āfriti*, "the blessing of the pious." It is a blessing pronounced on the Mazdayasnian house; joined with it is a form of exorcism (61) and the propitiation of fire (62). Then follows the Āb-zōr, "offering to the waters" (consisting of consecrated water) 63-68, containing an introduction (63-64), the praise of *Anāhita* the goddess of water (65), the consecration and offering of the sacred water (66-68). Then follow renewed invocations and the conclusion of the whole ceremony (69-72).[1]

§ 5. VISPERED (from Aw. *vīspe ratavō* "all the chiefs," *cf.* Yasht 10, 122) is not an independent connected book but a collection of supplements to the *Yasna*. The official recitation of the Vispered cannot be thought of without supposing that the Yasna was at the same time included. The Vispered high ceremony is the Yasna ceremony enlarged by the addition of the Vispered portions. It is celebrated especially at the seasonal feasts, the *Gahanbārs*.[2] The separate portions or chapters of the Vispered are called *Kardes* (properly "sections," from an Av. word *kərəti*). Here likewise the MSS. give us no help in fixing their number in so far as they do not number them consecutively. Anquetil divides the book into 27 chapters, so also Spiegel in his edition; Westergaard, on the other hand, reckons 23, and the Bombay Gujerati edition which I have followed 24 Kardes. So far as its contents are concerned, the Vispered presents only a little that is new and interesting. The most of it consists of formal invocation in the style of the Yasna. Kardes 1 and 2 are thrown in after Yasna 1, 8 and 2, 8, in the

[1] This description in its essentials is based upon that given by Darmesteter I, LXXXI—LXXXVIII. An exhaustive description of the Paragra ceremony is given by West in his essays, pp. 394 *seq.* and a similar description of the Izeshne ceremony, pp. 403 *seq.*

[2] Darmesteter I, LXVII.

place of Yasna 1, 9 and 2, 9. Here we see clearly that these two Kardes are only a lengthy spinning out of the Gahanbār formulæ of the Yasna. Kardes 3 and 4 fit into the ritual portions of Yasna 11. Karde 5 does duty for Yasna 14 of which it is only a variation; Karde 12 for Yasna 27, 7. The second half of the Vispered, Kardes 13-24, stands in very close relation to the Gathas or the Staota Yesnya (*cf.* the synopsis in § 12).

§ 6. VENDIDÂD (Av. *vīdaēvō dātəm*, "the law against demons," Phlv. *jūt-dīv-dāt* or *jūt-šēdā-dāt*) is originally an unliturgical work; it is the Leviticus of the Parsis, their ecclesiastical law-book which prescribes the priestly purifications, atonements and ecclesiastical penances. It formed originally the 19th *Nask* of the Sasanid Avesta. In its present form it contains 22 Chapters (*Fargards*) which the MSS. carefully number. The 12th Fargard is wanting in the older MSS. which contain the Pahlavi translation, and is found only in the so-called *Vendīdād Sâde*. The MSS. above referred to, reckon, however, the following Fargard as the 13th. This omission cannot be explained by a mere gap in the Pahlavi archetype. The whole Fargard looks like a fabrication that is more modern than the rest of the Vendidad. The summary list of contents of the Vendidad which the Dīnkard (8, 44) gives (*vide* below), deals minutely with all the Fargards except four; Fargard 12 is not referred to; Fargards 10 and 11 are at least touched in a couple of words.[1] The Fargard in question was thus either not before the Pahlavi translator or not yet fully recognised.[2]

The individual Fargards are partly connected together in this way that each supplies the answer to a question propounded in the Fargard which precedes it. This is the form of presentation, which is called in Sanskrit *prasaktānuprasaktam*. Fargard 10 is a more detailed working out of 9, 46; 14 of 13, 51. The begin-

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[1] *Cf.* West, Sacred Books of the East, XXXVII, p. 161. The words "in smiting the fiend" (Dīnkard 8, 44, 51) are to be connected with Fargard 10 and answer to the motto of the chapter, namely, the words *paiti pərəne*, "in healing," with Fargard 11. These correspond to the standing *yaozhdathāne* formula.

[2] Darmesteter (II, 165), endeavours, on the other hand, to make the existence of an old Pahlavi translation probable by referring to the words *Kainīnō avatō puthrəm* in 12,7. These, he suggests, are a gloss which has remained over from the former. The words are also found in the Persian MSS. (*cf.* § 13). Awesta glosses occur, however, in other places without any direct relation to the Pahlavi translation. I would point to the interesting gloss *aškāmō* in Vd. 20, 1.

ing and end of the Vendidad are mythological in their contents, the kernel of 3-21 contains the priests' law proper.

§ 7. CONTENTS OF THE VENDIDAD.—Fargard 1 relates the creation of the best known countries and their plagues at the hands of Ormuzd and Ahriman, respectively; Fargard 2 gives the history of Yima, his first and second call, the flood and Yima's paradise; Fargard 3 the joys and sufferings of the earth, the habitation, mode of life and end of the corpse-bearers, the praise of agriculture, the pollution of the earth by dead bodies; Fargard 4 contracts, their breach and relative expiations, bodily injuries and their expiations, education, perjury and ordeal; Fargards 5-9 the manifold uncleannesses of men and things through pollution by dead bodies and their relative expiations. Specially to be mentioned are the following:—The treatment of dead bodies in winter (10-14), the purification of the water of the whole world in the ocean *Pūitika* (15-20), praise of Zarathushtra's doctrine of purity (21-25), the woman with the still-born child (45-62) in Chap. 5. On the *dakhmas* or *Towers of the Dead* (44-51), in Chap. 6. Certificates of qualification and fees for physicians (36-44), consideration of the *dakhmas* (45-59) in Chap. 7. Disposal of the dead and *sagdid* (driving out of the corpse-female-demon by the dog) 1-22, and the Bahirám Fire (81-96) in Chap. 8. The *Barashnūm* of the nine nights, *i. e.*, the great purificatory ceremony in Chap. 9. Fargard 10 contains the Gatha verses to be repeated twice, thrice and four times for expelling demons; 11, the employment of Gatha verses for the purpose of purification; 12, mourning for the dead; 13, the dog, its kinds, its functions, the nourishment, diseases and praise of the dog, the otters; 14, expiation for the killing of an otter; 15, five mortal sins, new born children and dogs; 16, woman during the catamenia; 17, cutting of the nails and hair; 18 is the most interesting and the fullest chapter in the whole book. Amongst other things it treats of the true and the false priest, of the domestic cock that wakes men to prayer in the morning, and of the *Jahi* (the dissolute woman), and narrates a conversation between *Sraosha* and the *Druj* with regard to the propagation of the latter. Farg. 19 relates the temptation of Zarathushtra by Ahriman, the expiation of the desecrated *Vohu Manō*, the fate of souls after death. The last three chapters are devoted to priestly medicine. Chapter 20, the revelation of the art of healing by Mazda

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and an enumeration of diseases; 21, the healing power of water, and the exorcism of a woman in childbirth; 22, narrative of the contagion and healing of Mazda.

§ 8. THE YASHTS AND THE KHORDA AWESTA.—Anquetil includes all besides the above that is extant of real Awesta texts under the title *Yasht Sāde.*[1] But it is better to divide this into two groups, the *Yashts* with their appendices and what is included under the comprehensive name *Khorda Awesta, i.e.*, the Small or Minor Awesta. The dividing line is, however, not a very definite one in the MSS. inasmuch as certain Yashts are necessary elements of a Khorda Awesta. Both classes of MSS., the Yasht MSS. as well as the Khorda Awesta MSS., are introduced by similar formulæ, and the Yasht and Khorda Awesta texts are frequently combined in the MSS. to form one whole. Especially it is to be remembered that the Khorda Awesta is not a book of uniform content and fixed arrangement in the style of the Vendidad; the Khorda Awesta MSS. are casual collections of varying extent.

YASHT (Aw. *yešti*), like the word YASNA of allied root, signifies originally *worship, offering.* It has, however, become a technical expression. While the Yasna designates the general worship which embraces the whole Masdayasnian Pantheon, the Yashts are devoted to the worship of individual divinities and indeed almost exclusively to divine beings or *Izeds* (Aw. *yazata*), after whom the days of the month are named. Our collection numbers 21 or 22[2] Yashts in the following fixed order:—1, Yasht of *Ahura Mazda* (Hōrmazd); 2, Yasht of the *Aməša Spenta* (Haft Ameshāspends); 3, Yasht of the *Aša Vahišta* (Ardabahisht); 4, of the *Haurvatāt* (Khordād); 5, of the *Ardvī Sūra Anāhita* (Arduī sūr bānō); 6, of the *Hvarəxšaēta* (Khurshēd); 7, of the *Māongha* (Māh); 8, of the *Tištrya* (Tishtar, also called Tīr); 9, of the *Drvāspa* (Drvāsp, also called *Gōsh Yasht*); 10, of the *Mithra* (Mihir); 11, of the *Sraoša* (Srōsh Yasht, from the Hādhōkht[3]); 11, a Srōsh Yasht; 12, the Yasht of the *Rašnu* (Rashn); 13, of *Fravaši* (Fravardīn); 14, of *Vərəthraghna* (Bahirām); 15, of *Vayu* (generally called Rām Yasht); 16, of *Razišta Cišta* (generally called Dīn Yasht); 17, of *Aši Vanguhi* (Ard Yasht); 18, of *Airyanəm xvarənō* (generally called Ashtād

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[1] Anquetil I. 1, cccclxxxvi; II. 1.

[2] That is, the same number as that of the chapter in the Vendidad. According to the opinion of the Parsis each of the Ameshaspands and Izeds once had its own special Yasht, *cf.* Anquetil II, 143.

[3] *Cf.* below § 17.

Yasht); 19, Yasht of *Kavaēm xvarənō* (generally called Zamyād; in older MSS. also Kayān Yasht); 20, of *Haoma* (Hōm); 21, of *Vanant* (Vanand).

This arrangement is based upon the order of the days of the month in the Parsi Calendar.[1] Eight of the genii of the days of the month have no Yasht to represent them; conversely there is no day of the month corresponding to the last two Yashts. In the Calendar the day of *Vohu Manō* occupies the second place; in the Yasht collection, however, the second place is occupied by that of the seven Amesha Spenta. In the case of Yashts 18 and 19 the connection with a corresponding day of the month is a forced one. In Yasht 19 only the first 8 sections are concerned with the genius of the earth (Zamyād). In the 18th Yasht there is absolutely no mention of the Ashtād. Several of the double names in the above list are explained by the fact that the proper hero of the Yasht is not one from whom the corresponding day derives its name, but a genius invoked along with him. Thus the 15th Yasht is named after the *Rāma xvāstra*, which in Sīroze 1, 21; 2, 21 is invoked in the first place; it is, however, dedicated to *Vayu*, who there takes the second place. We find the same in Yashts 9 and 16.

Externally the Yashts are recognizable by their introductions and conclusions which run on the same lines. In respect of extent, age and contents they are, however, very unlike each other. The last two (20 and 21) consist for the most part only of Yasht formulæ adorned with some quotations. The first four Yashts are for the most part a modern, ungrammatical manufacture. On the other hand, the middle and large Yashts (Nos. 5, 8, 14, 17 and, above all, 10, 13 and 19) belong to the most prominent documents of this literature. It has already been remarked in § 4 that several Yashts have been embodied in the Yasna which, like the Hōm Yasht, in their full extent do not belong to the Yasht collection in the strict sense.

§ 9. The Khorda Awesta, "the Minor Awesta," is, so to speak, a short extract of the entire Awesta, intended for the use of the laity, a collection of the forms of prayer most required by the layman at the various seasons and in the various circumstances of his life. These are

[1] For this *cf.* especially Roth, Zeitschrift d. Morg. Gesellschaft 34, 709. The Siroze (*vide* § 9) contains a complete list of genii of the days with their attributes and followers.

by no means composed exclusively in the Awesta language, but to a great extent in Pāzend. Of the Yashts, especially the first (Hōrmazd) and the eleventh (Srōsh), are included in almost all Khorda Awesta MSS. The editing of the Khorda Awesta has been ascribed to Ādarpād Mahraspand under Shāpūr II. (310-379 A.D.). Besides a series of separate prayers and verses, the MSS. contain the following smaller collections of recitations:—

1. The Nyāishes, five in number. These are brief prayers to the Sun (Khurshēd), Mithra, the Moon (Māh), to the genii of the Water (Arduī sūr bānō) and the Fire (Ātash ī Bahirām).[1] The Yashts of the corresponding Izēds, or portions of them, are partly inserted in the Nyāishes, *e. g.*, the entire Khurshēd Yasht in Nyāish 1, 10-17, the Māh Yasht in Nyāish 3, 2-9.

2. The Gāhs, addressed to the genii of the respective times of the day and recited at these times. Their number is accordingly five.

3. Sirōze (the thirty days), of which there are two, named the Minor and the Larger. These are two Prayer Calendars extending each to 30 paragraphs in which the genii of the day are invoked in succession together with their retinue. In their entirety these are recited principally on the 30th day after the death of a man.[2]

4. The Āfrīngāns, words of blessing, which are accompanied by the gift of an offering and serve various ends. Generally four are quoted :—

(*a*) Āfrīngān i Dahmān, recited to honour departed pious people, a kind of mass for the dead.

(*b*) Āfringān ī Gāthā, recited on the last five days of the year, the so-called Gāthā days, on which the souls of the departed descend to the earth, thus as it were a kind of mass for souls.[3]

(*c*) Āfrīngān ī Gahanbār, recited at the celebration of the six seasonal feasts, the so-called Gahanbār. This piece, however, contains not so much benedictions as precepts regarding the participation of the faithful in the six feasts.

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1 With reference to their special use, *vide* Anquetil II, 565 ; Darmesteter in the introductions to the different Nyaishes, II, 691 *seq.*

2 Anquetil II, 315, 573.

3 Anquetil II, 575; West, Essays 225.

(*d*) Āfrīngān ī Rapithwin, celebrated at the beginning and end of summer.

§ 10. Fragments. These five books or collections of texts pretty well exhaust the canon of the Parsis of the present day, but they are by no means the whole of the extant Awesta literature. A treasure store, still partly unexplored, is hidden in Pahlavi books in the form of quotations from lost texts. Larger fragments have been preserved together with the Pahlavi commentary or have been incorporated in more modern Pahlavi writings. First among these stands the *Nīrangistān* (*cf.* § 17), an extensive ritual work in three Fargards based upon an old collection of *Awesta Nīrangs, i. e.,* ritual precepts in the Awesta language. This collection has been worked up in a large Pahlavi tract and commented on. The commentary quotes besides a great number of other *Awesta Nīrangs* from a different source. These *Nīrangs* are very fruitful sources for a knowledge of the ritual as well as for the enrichment of our Awesta vocabulary; unfortunately the text which has been handed down is very bad and the quantity of material in manuscripts very scanty.[1]

The *Afrīn ī Dahmān* named *Aogəmadaēcā* from the first word of the first Awesta quotation is a Pahlavi tract interspersed with Awesta quotations the majority of which can no longer be traced in our Awesta.[2]

Larger connected fragments we have especially in the three Fargards from the *Hādōkht Nask.* The last two are eschatological in their contents; they narrate the lot of souls after death.[3] A small fragment which Westergaard prints after Fargard 3 of this text as Yasht 22, 39-42 does not stand in immediate connection with the 3rd Fargard of the Hādōkht. Here we should add the *Āfrīn ī Paighambar Zartusht*, a benediction for kings and the so-called *Vish-*

[1] Published and translated by Darmesteter III, 78 *seq.*—Photographic copy published by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Bombay, 1894.

[2] Aogemadaēcā a Parsi tract in Pazend, Old-Bactrian and Sanskrit, edited, translated and explained with Glossary by W. Geiger, Erlangen, 1878. *Cf.* also West, Essays, p. 99.

[3] Erroneously reckoned as Yashts 21 and 22 by Westergaard. These pieces were published separately together with their Pahlavi translation by Haug and West as a supplement to the *Arda Viraf* (Bombay, London 1872), p. 269 *seq.*

tāsp Yasht,[1] an obscure text, grammatically quite corrupt and compiled from manifold sources without any inner connection, which has nothing to do with the ordinary Yashts.

The Pahlavi commentaries on the Vendidad and the Yasna,[2] and other Pahlavi works such as *Vijirkard ī Dīnīk* and *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* are rich in Awesta citations. Numerous shorter Awesta quotations are contained in the so called *Pūrsīshnīhā*, a kind of catechism in Pahlavi. There are in all 124 Awestā quotations distributed over 58 sections.[3] Many fragmentary texts, prayers and nīrangs have found their way into individual MSS. of the Khorda Awesta. The best known are the *Vīspa Humata* and the *Airyama Isyō*.[4] We must not omit to mention the so-called *Farhang i Oīm Khadūk*, an Awesta-Pahlavi glossary which has preserved not merely many Awesta words but also certain phrases and quotations from Awesta books that have been lost.[5] Darmesteter has published a text-piece which, according to the subscription, must have come from the lost Nask *Nīkādūm*.[6]

Many of the liturgies are merely or almost entirely compilations of well-known texts and current formulæ, *e.g.*, the *Darūn Bāj*, *Darūn Yasht*,[7] *Mayā Yasht*[8] (also named the *Mayā Zōhr*[9]), the *Cīdak-avistāk ī gāsān*[10] (a compilation of Gatha-stanzas), the numerous Afringāns

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[1] In Westergaard's edition, pp. 300 and 302; translated in Darmesteter II. 660 and 663.

[2] Collected by Darmesteter III. 29 *seq.* A large portion also in West SBE., XXXVII, pp. 471, 472, 474, 475, 484-487.

[3] Published and translated by Darmesteter, III, 53.

[4] See the collection of fragments in Westergaard, pp. 331 *seq.* The MSS E_2 and M_{21} contain many hitherto unknown incantations; *cf.* K.Z. 27, 587.

[5] An old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary edited by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji, revised by Martin Haug, Bombay-Stuttgart 1867.—Herausgeg. von H. Reichelt, Wien 1900.

[6] Darmesteter, Une page Zende inédite in JA. 1886, VIII, p. 182. The fragment refers to mixed marriages with women who were not Parsis. According to the subscription it professes to belong to the *Nask Nīkādūm*, *Fargard Vaēlha*. In Haug's collection a fragment of the *Vaētha* in No. 35, which is not identical with the portion of the text published.

[7] The *Darūn Yasht* is composed of an introductory formula and portions of the Yasna with partially altered liturgical forms, namely Yasna 3, 5-18; Yasna 23. 4. 5. 6, 1-6; 11-15. 17. Y. 26,7.8. 1-8.

[8] So in the Persian MS called Mf_3. The *Mayā Yasht* begins with the words *nəmas te sūma* (or *sīma*) *səvišta arədvi sūra ānāhita xšnaothra ahurahe mazdaō.*

[9] So in Wilson's MS entitled No. 1.

[10] See West, Essay, p. 98.

and Khshnūmans,[1] a calendar of the months found in Persian MSS.[2] in imitation of the Sīrōze and many others.

§ 11. Editions of the Awesta.

(*a*) In Europe.

J. Olshausen, Vendidad, Zendavestae Pars XX, adhuc superstes, P. I. Fargard I-V continens, Hamburg 1829.—Vendidad Sadé l'un des livres de Zoroastre lithographié d'après le Manuscrit Zend de la Bibliothéque Royale et publié par M. E. Burnouf Paris 1829-1843, gr. fol.—Vendidad Sade, die heiligen Schriften Zoroaster's Yaçna, Vispered und Vendidad. Nach den lithographirten Ausgaben von Paris und Bombay mit Index und Glossar herausgeg. v. H. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1850.—Zendavestae capita priora V, ed. emend. Chr. Lassen. Bonn 1852.—Zendavesta or the religious books of the Zoroastrians, ed. transl. by N. L. Westergaard, Vol. I. The Zend texts (only so much appeared), Kopenhagen 1852-54. This is up to date the completest edition.—Avesta die heiligen Schriften der Parsen zum ersten Mal im Grundtexte sammt der Huzvaresch Uebersetzung herausgeg. von Fr. Spiegel, I. Band: der Vendidad, Wien 1853; II. Band: Vispered and Yasna 1858.—Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen, im Auftrag der. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien herausgeg. v. K. F. Geldner, I. Teil: Yasna, Stuttgart 1886; II Teil: Vispered and Khorde Awesta, 1889; III Teil: Vendidad und Prolegomena, 1895. (Also in English under the title: Awesta, the Sacred Books of the Parsis, published under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Stuttgart 1886-1895.)

(*b*) In India.

Kitāb i Jud Dīvdād, edited by Dastur Idalji Darabji Sanjana, Bombay, A.Y. 1200, large folio (*cf.* Brockhaus in the Preface VI).—The Yaçna of the Parsis in the Zand Language, but Gujarātī character, with a Gujarātī Translation, Paraphrase and Comment, according to the traditional interpretation of the Zoroastrians, by the late Framji Aspandiarji and other Dasturs, Vol. 1. 2. Lithograph. for the Bombay Branch of the R. A. Society, by Appa Rama, 1843. The Vandidād Sâde of the Parsis, &c., 1-2, 1842. The Vispered of the Parsis in the Zand Language, but Gujarāti character, with a Gujarāti Translation, Paraphrase and Comment; according to the traditional interpretation of the Zoroastrians, by the late Framji

[1] *i.e.*, pieces with the standing formula *ašnūmaine*.

[2] Z.B. in the Copenhagen MS. No. 38.

ASPANDIARJI and other Dasturs. Lithogr. 1843.—Avesta, the Sacred Books of the Parsis, Part I, Yasna ba Nirang, from Westergaard's Edition of the Zend Avesta publ. (in Zend) by TEHMURAS DINSHAW ANKLESARIA, Bombay 1888.

Chrestomathies :—Schleicher, Indogermanische Chrestomathies, Weimar 1869.—C. DE HARLEZ, Manuel de la langue de l'Avesta ; Grammaire, Anthologie, Lexique, Paris 1878, 2e Ed. Paris 1882.—Handbuch der Awestasprache, Grammatik, Chrestomathie, Wörterbuch von W. GEIGER, Erlangen 1879.—A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Avesta Reader : First Series. Easier Texts, Notes and Vocabulary, Stuttgart 1893.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE AWESTA.

§ 12. YASNA, VISPERED, AND VENDIDAD. These three texts were handed down in writing in different ways according as they were intended to be studied and understood or to be simply mechanically learned by heart and recited. In the former case the Awesta is accompanied by a translation in Pahlavi, Sanskrit or Gujarāti (see below); in the latter only the Awesta text, often interspersed with ritual directions, is given. If these ritual directions are composed in Pahlavi the technical expression is *Nirang* ; if they are given in Sanskrit or the Bhāshā they are called *Kriyā, Kiriā*. The Nirangs are found specially in the MSS. which had their origin in Persia. The pure text as opposed to that which is intermingled with a translation has received the additional name *sáde* " pure."

The MSS. of the Awesta Sāde give the text in its greatest fulness with all the appendices and formulæ as they are actually employed in liturgical service. The MSS., on the other hand, which are accompanied by a translation, aim at greater brevity by omitting all superfluous subsidiary additions and in the case of the numerous repetitions make use of abbreviations and occasionally also of contractions which are not at first sight and without the help of the *Awesta Sāde* intelligible. The difference between these two modes of committing to writing is most striking in the case of the Vispered.[1]

The Yasna Sāde is employed for the Yasna celebration in which only the Yasna is recited. If the Yasna is celebrated with the supplementary portions of the Vispered, the celebration is called Vispered (high service) after the portions of the Vispered which are added. For this the

[1] A characteristic example of abbreviation is that of Vendidad 8, 82-96 in the MSS. with translation.

Vispered Sāde (also called Vispered Gahanbār) [1] is intended. In the MSS. of the Vispered Sāde only the Vispered is given *in extenso;* the Yasna chapters are only for the most part indicated. These MSS. are only supplementary MSS. to the Yasna Sādes. In some MSS., as for example, H_1, K_{11}[2], the Yasna Sāde is given first and as supplement thereto the Vispered with an abbreviated Yasna. Only rarely is the Yasna also in this case written out in full, *e. g.*, in the Iranian MSS. Fl_1, Kh_1.

All the three texts are recited in the great and most solemn high office. This celebration is the Vendidad high office, and the book of texts appointed for it is the Vendidad Sāde in which the chapters of the Yasna, Vispered and Vendidad are intermingled.[3] The order of arrangement is quite fixed, and is set forth and made clear by the following synopsis:—

Yasna.[4]	Vispered.	Vendidad.
1, 1—8		
	1	
1, 10 to end		
2, 1—8		
	2	
2, 10 to end		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11, 1—8		
	3, 1—5	
11, 9—15		
	3, 6 to end	
	4	
11, 17 to end		
12		
13		
(14)	5	
(15)	6	
16		
17		
	7	
	8	

Yasna.	Vispered.	Vendidad.
18		
19		
20		
21		
	9	
22		
	10	
	11	
(23)		
(24)		
25		
(26)		
27		
	12	
		1, 2, 3, 4 } I
28		
29		
30		
	13	
		5, 6 } II
31		
32		
33		
34	14	

[1] *Cf.* Westergaard, Preface, p. 13, and above § 5.—The Vispered high office is celebrated, specially in the Gahanbār holidays, Darmesteter I, LXVII.

[2] With reference to the designation of the MSS. *cf.* the Prolegomena to Geldner's Edition.

[3] *Cf.* also Darmesteter I. LXVII.

[4] The chapters placed within brackets are wanting in the Vendidad Sāde.

Yasna.	Vispered.	Vendidad.
		7, 8 III
	15	
35 to 42		
	16	
	17	
		9, 10 IV
43 to 46		
	18	
		11, 12 V
47 to 50		
	19	
		13, 14 VI

Yasna.	Vispered.	Vendidad.
51		
	20	
		15, 16 VII
	21	
	22	
		17, 18 VIII
52		
53		
	23	
		19, 20 IX
54		
	24	
		21, 22 X
55[1] to 71		

The Vendidad is accordingly distributed into 10 sections (one consisting of 4, the remainder of 2 fargards) and grouped around the most sacred part of the Yasna, the Gathas. Only chapters of the Vispered are incorporated with the first part of the Yasna, and these are either interpolated in the Yasna chapters or are added at the end. From chapter 27, that is, from the beginning of the Gathas, the Vendidad is also joined on to the Vispered. These interpolations entirely cease at the 55th Yasna, and only the Yasna is recited on to the end.

A variety of the Vendidad Sāde is the Vīshtāsp Sāde in which in place of the 10 sections of the Vendidad the 8 fargards of the Vīshtāsp Yasht (*cf.* §§ 10, 17, 18) are interpolated. The places occupied by the 8th and 10th Vendidad sections remain here blank.[2]

§ 13. THE MANUSCRIPTS[3] of the Avesta fall into two classes, the Indian and the Persian. Although the former ultimately entirely rest

[1] Yasna 62,1—6 comes in the Vd. Sāde immediately after Y. 59.

[2] Dastur Jamaspji writes with reference to it:—"It is written exactly like the Vendidad Sāde, the first part of the Yaçna and Vispared is given first, then the eight fargards of Vishtasp Yasht with the Gâthâs and then the latter portion of Yaçna and Vispared. It is called the Vendidad of Ujairin gâh, because it is said that the Vishtasp Yasht was recited in this part of the day as the Vendidad is recited even now, in the Ushahin gâh—but it is no longer recited now."—Letter of 5th June 1883.

[3] The best and most complete collection of Avesta MSS. in Europe is that of Rask enriched by a second collection of Westergaard in the University Library at Copenhagen. Next to this comes the collection of De Guise in the India Office. The MSS. which Anquetil brought to Paris are mostly of inferior value. In India, the reverend Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji and the Mula Firuz Library in Bombay possess the largest collection; the latter, the M. F. Library, especially numerous Iranian MSS.

on Persian originals, a marked contrast between the two traditions has been developed in the course of the century. The oldest Indian MSS. date from the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, the Persian MSS. do not go further back than the 17th. The Persian MSS. surpass considerably their Indian contemporaries in point of correctness and carefulness of execution. In Kirmān and Yazd, the two Parsi communities in Persia, there must have existed as late as last century a distinguished school of *dasturs*, which even the learned Parsis of India regarded as their mother-school. The Persian dasturs often helped their Indian brethren with their learning and with MSS. Sometimes Indian Parsis studied in Persia, Persian dasturs journeyed to visit their brethren in the faith beyond the Indus in order to settle disputes and inspected at the same time their MSS. The journey, for example, of Dastur Jamasp (Vilāyati) from Kirmān to India is well known. He found there great ignorance, and the MSS. in a wretched condition, and established a small circle of disciples who worked in Surat, Nosari and Broach. The first disciple of Jamasp was Darab in Surat, the subsequent teacher of Anquetil.[1] From the school of Jamasp has sprung a great number of copies of the Awesta. Externally the Persian MSS. are recognisable through their Iranian style of writing, through a very vigorous cursive and oblique handwriting, while the Indian manner of writing is rather straight and pointed. The Iranian style has, however, sometimes been imitated in India when the copyist had a Persian original before him. The better MSS. have, some of them, very full and unctuous colophons in which the writer names himself, gives his family tree, the original before him, and the date of the completion of the copy. Frequently the colophons of the original are copied word for word along with the original MS. itself.

The MSS. of the three texts in question fall in the first place into two great classes independent of each other—the MSS. accompanied by a translation, and the Sāde MSS. (*cf.* § 12). The former supply the foundation for all European editions; the MSS. belonging to this class being distinguished by their greater correctness and in part also by their higher antiquity.

The MSS. of the Yasna with Pahlavi translation form again two distinct families. One is represented by the Copenhagen Yasna No. 5

[1] *Cf.* Anquetil I., 1, CCCXXVI.

(K_5) and by the MS., which, originally in the possession of Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana of Bombay, has now been presented by him to Oxford.[1] Both these MSS., which are in almost perfect preservation, sprang from the same copyist, namely, Herbad Mitrō-āpān ī Kaī-Khūsrōvō ī Mitrō-āpān ī Spend-dād ī Mitrō-āpān ī Marzapān ī Bāhrām. K_5 was finished at Cambay on the 17th November 1323 A.D. and was, according to the subscription, copied from the MS. of Rustam ī Mitrō-āpān,[2] the great-great uncle of Mitrō-āpān. J_2 was finished on the 26th January 1323. The copyist here remains silent regarding his original. From their agreement, however, in many characteristic mistakes, omissions, &c., it is clear that J_2 also must have been copied from the MS. of Rustam or its original. A comparison of K_5 and J_2 as well as of K_1 and L_4 (see below), shews, however, that Mitrō-āpān did not bestow the care in detail that might have been desired in faithfully reproducing his original.

In respect of correctness, the second family of MSS. stands in many cases above the first, although the members of this family which are extant belong to a much later time. This family is represented chiefly by Pt_4 and Mf_4, both without date. Pt_4, the more correct and probably somewhat older MS. of the two, was, according to the family traditions of its former possessor, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana of Bombay, copied about 1780 A.D. from an old Iranian Yasna of Hōshāng, son of Sīyāvakhsh. Pt_4 reproduces in the introduction the introduction of its original, by means of which we can trace the genealogy of the MS. several steps backwards. The genealogical tree is as follows:—

MS. of Farnbag ī Srōsh-aīyyār (about 1110 ?).
|
,, ,, Māhpanāh ī Āzād-mard.
|
,, ,, Mitrō-āpān ī Spēnd-dād (about 1280).
|
,, ,, Hōshang ī Sīyāwakhsh (about 1478.)
|
Pt_4

The introduction records further that Farnbag composed his copy from two separate originals, the Awesta text from the MS. of Māh-

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[1] The photographic reproduction of this MS. is not accessible to me.

[2] He copied the Arda Viraf in Iran in 1269. *Cf.* West, Essays, p. 94, note.

aīyyār and the Pahlavi text from the MS. of Māh-vīndād, son of Naremāhān. The latter copied the Dīnkard in A. D. 1020.[1] The same Mâh-vindâd is several times cited as commentator in the Pahlavi Yasna. The final redaction of our Pahlavi translation of the Yasna may accordingly be due to Farnbag.[2]

A second independent copy of the old Yasna of Hōshāng is Mf_4 and finally Mf_1, an Iranian MS. of Rustam Gūshtāsp Ardashīr A.D. 1741. This last gives, however, only the Awesta text. Pt_4—Mf_4—Mf_1 represent, notwithstanding their later age, the best Yasna tradition. In which member the two families meet when traced back cannot be asserted with definiteness.[3]

A subordinate type of this class of MSS. are the MSS. with the Sanskrit translations of Neriosangh (see below § 48), represented by the two old MSS. S_1 and J_3. Of these only S_1 is a true representative of the Neriosangh text, J_3 being a later revision of S_1 and of less value. J_3 has been often copied. The Paris and Copenhagen Sanskrit Yasnas are copied from it.

Of the Pahlavi-Vendidad only one family of MSS. has been preserved, represented by the London and Copenhagen Vendidād L_4 and K_1 which stand to each other in a relation precisely similar to that of K_5 and J_2. Unfortunately, neither of them has been completely preserved. In L_4 the beginning down to the opening of the 9th Fargard is wanting. Only a few leaves, which extend from Vd. 3, 14 to 4, 29 are preserved; the portion which has been preserved is in places very much destroyed. The beginning of K_1 down to the 5th Fargard has been lost, and the middle portion from the 9th to the 18th Fargard completely destroyed.

On the other hand, the Copenhagen MS. has a numerous progeny, which dates from the time when it was still perfectly preserved. The oldest copy taken direct from K_1 was formerly in the possession of a Teheran Parsi named Manekji Limji Hataria (Ml_3). It was written in Broach in A. D. 1594 and is a most careful copy. From Ml_3 have sprung, directly or indirectly, the Bombay, Paris, Munich and later Copenhagen Pahlavi Vendidāds. L_4 has only a small number of descend-

[1] West, SBE. XXXVII., Introd. p. 84.

[2] Addition made by the Author to this English Version [Trans.]

[3] With reference to this the Prolegomena, which were not completed when this article was prepared, may now be consulted.

ants. The most important amongst these is the MS. Pt_2 written in A. D. 1787. It seems, however, not to have been taken direct from L_4. K_1 and L_4 come from the same Mitrō-āpān ī Kaī-Khūsrōvō, who twice copied the Pahlavi Yasna. In K_1 he adds to his own signature the two colophons of his predecessors, so that the family can also be traced tolerably far back. The foundation MS. is that of Hōmāst of Seistan, which Aērdashīr ī Vohūman copied in A. D. 1205. Māhyār brought Aērdashīr's MS. to India. There it was copied by the well-known Rūstam ī Mitrō-āpān ī Marzapān. K_1 is a copy of the MS. of Rustam completed in Cambay, 17th May 1324. L_4 has lost the last leaf with the signature. But in Pt_2 the subscription of the copyist of L_4, namely, Mitrō-apān, together with those of his two predecessors, is re-copied. These last agree exactly with those in K_1. L_4 must, therefore, have been copied from the MS. of Rustam, and, indeed, some months before K_1. It was finished, according to the colophon in Pt_2, on the 28th August 1323, in Nosari. The genealogical tree of the whole family is then as follows :—

MS. of Hōmāst
|
" " Aērdashīr (1205)
|
" " Rustam
|
K_1 (1324) — L_4 1323
| |
Ml_3 — Pt_2
|
The late Pahlavi-Vendidads.

The extant Vispereds with Pahlavi translation rest entirely on an old Copenhagen Codex K_7. This MS. contains in its first part the oldest and best Vispered Sāde (with Nīrang), with a subscription of the copyist Rustam ī Mitrō-āpān ī Marzapān[1] and as date A. D. 1278. With this is connected the Pahlavi Vispered, manifestly by the same copyist. This is, therefore, the oldest Awesta MS. which has yet been discovered. The Vīshāsp Sāde is represented by the excellent Iranian codex K_4, copied in Kirmān by Vēh-mard, son of Frēdūn, from a

[1] That is of the writer of the draft of K_1, &c. But, perhaps, this MS. is an old copy of the Rustam MS. See Prolegomena XXXIX.

MS. of Vāhrōm, son of the Marzapān, who, in his turn, had copied the MS. of Khūsrō-malkā, son of Anōshagrūbāuo (about 1585). K_4 is dated 26th July 1723.

The Vendidād Sādes are widely distributed in India; they all go back in the last resort to one archetype. Only a few are older than the preceding century. They represent the vulgate-text of the three books, which has degenerated through frequent copying, and has, further, been strongly influenced by an inexact oral tradition. Amongst these Indian Vendidād Sādes two groups are to be distinguished, a superior one represented by the Copenhagen and a London Vendidād Sāde, K_{10} and L_2, and an inferior one to which the bulk of the MSS. belongs. The archetype of the Vendidād Sādes, as also of the Yasna and Vispered Sādes, was probably originally composed from the Pahlavi Awesta for liturgical use. And thus it becomes clear why numerous quotations from the Awesta, belonging to the Pahlavi Commentary, have found their way into the text of the Vendidad Sādes. This archetype, we presume, must, however, after all be older than the oldest Pahlavi Awesta MSS. known to us. The Vendidād Sādes have not unfrequently preserved the better reading in contrast to the Pahlavi-Awesta MSS.

The Persian Vendidād Sādes, represented by Mf_2 and Jp_1, are favourably distinguished from the Indian copies. Jp_1 was copied by Frēdūn Marzapān in A. D. 1638, and, indeed, from a MS. belonging to Marzapān, who, in his turn, had as his original a copy made by Shatrōēyār Erdashīr (about 1516). Mf_2 was written in A. D. 1618 by Khūsrōb Anōshirvān Rustam. The copyist, however, does not mention his original. In view of the close relationship of the two codices, it cannot, however, be a matter of doubt that Mf_2 was copied from the MS. of Marzapān or Shatrōēyār. The Vendidād Sāde type is unmistakable in both; their arrangement of the text is that of the Indian Vendidād Sādes almost without a change. But in individual readings they depart almost in every line from these last, while they agree sometimes with the other class of MSS., and sometimes offer readings entirely original which are not unfrequently confirmed as genuine by the Pahlavi translation. On the one hand, they might be supposed to stand considerably nearer the archetype of their class; on the other hand, a revision of the Vendidād Sāde appears to have been made in Persia in the 16th century, or earlier, with the aid of other Pahlavi-Awesta MSS.

(which since then have disappeared), in which Persia has been richer than India.[1] The text which the Persian Vendidād Sādes supply is free from many disturbing glosses with which the text of the Indian MSS. is laden.

The MSS. of the Yasna Sāde also presuppose an archetype which stood near to the Vendidād Sāde. The best MS. of the group is that belonging to Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshangji Jamaspji of Poona (H_1)[2].

§ 14. Regarding the MSS. OF THE YASHTS AND THE KHORDA-AWESTA there has not been, since ancient times, so well-defined a system as for those we have just described (*cf.* above, § 8). We divide the MSS. into three groups, according to contents :—(*a*) Pure Yasht codices. The oldest and most important representative is F_1 belonging to the year 1591. The MS. begins quite in the usual style of the Khorda-Awesta with an alphabet, some forms of prayer (Nīrangs and Bāj's), and the five Nyāishes. The latter are inseparable in the MSS. from the Yashts. Then follow only the 22 Yashts in the usual order. These MSS. have served as source for the majority of the later Yasht codices, at least in part. (*b*) The Khorda-Awesta codices. The Oxford codex (O_3) may be adduced as a specimen, as its contents may be taken as the average of this class. It contains in order :—the Awesta Alphabet, the 5 Nyāishes, the 3 Āfrīngāns, the 5 Gāhs, the Yashts 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, and numerous Nīrangs. (*c*) The combined codices, Khorda-Awesta texts including all the Yashts. The chief representative of this class is Pt_1, dated A. D. 1625. This MS. shews clearly that the writer proceeded eclectically. He took as his basis one or several Khorda-Awestas and supplied the missing Yashts from F_1. Thus it happens that, for example, Pt_1 in Yasht 19 follows F_1 closely, while in Yasht 16 it represents a different and much inferior recension.

Persian MSS. containing all the Yashts have not yet been discovered. On the other hand, the Persian Khorda-Awestas similarly occupy a unique position. The favourite Yasht of these MSS. is Yasht 13, the Farvardīn Yasht, which, on the other hand, is wanting

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[1] Westergaard was able to make full use of only a later copy of Mf_2, namely, K_9 of this class.

[2] Compare the introductions to Spiegel's, Westergaard's, and Geldner's Editions.

in the Indian Khorda Awestas[1]. The finest and most correct Persian Khorda Awesta is F_2 of A. D. 1726.

The text which the Awesta MSS. furnish is everywhere the same without variation so far as the order of the words, sentences and chapters is concerned, oversights of the copyist in the matter of omissions and repetitions being, of course, left out of account; only a very few fragments show traces of a double recension. On the other hand, the tradition and writing of individual words is often very uncertain and varying, and offers serious obstacles to the establishment of a correct text.

THE PRESENT AWESTA AND THE AWESTA UNDER THE SASANIDS.

§ 15. THE NASKS. It is a well-known Parsi tradition that the Awesta once consisted of 21 Nasks (Nosks).[2] Already we find Anquetil reporting, on the ground of this tradition, that the extant "Zend books" are only a fragment of that great Awesta. He knows that only one Nask has been completely preserved, *viz.*, the Vendidād. He further gives expression to the conjecture that the Yasna formed a part of the first and second Nasks (*Sétoudiescht* or *Sétoudguer*), that the Vispered was drawn from the fifteenth Nask (*Baghantāst*) and the Afrīngān Gahanbār from the Hādōkht Nask.[3] The Parsi tradition of the 21 Nasks, which rests principally on the Persian Rivayets (Collections of the

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[1] With this is connected a well-known history which the subscription to K_{15} (an Iranian MS, with the Farvardin Yasht) relates. For a thousand years after their migration to India the Parsis had no genuine Haoma plant nor the Farvardin Yasht. (This means that in the Khorda Awestas this Yasht had disappeared.) Dastur Jāmāsp Hakim, therefore, made a copy in Persia of the Yasht in question (K_{15}) and brought it personally in 1722 to Surat as a present to the Parsi priests there. (*Cf.* also Prolegomena VII.)

[2] The expression is already found in the Awesta in the form *nasko*, Yasna 9, 22. Attempted derivations in West's Essays, p. 125 note. Darmesteter III, XCIX note.

[3] Anquetil I, 1, p. 479; I, 2, pp. 74,75; II, 56. Anquetil gives a full account of the contents of the Nasks in the Journal des Sçavans, Juin 1760, page 361 (in the Essay, Mémoire dans lequel on établit que les livres Zends . . . sont les propres ouvrages de Zoroastre, in the place cited, pp. 336-372). He rightly calls in question (*ib.* p. 369) the trustworthiness of the list of Nasks given by Hyde; compare Hyde, Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum, Oxford 1700, p. 339. According to Anquetil I, 1, p. 479 note, Henri Lord already divided the Zend-Awesta into three principal sections of seven chapters (Hist. de la Relig. des Perses, p. 176).

Teachings of the old Dasturs on Religion) has in recent times received a scientific foundation through West's comprehensive treatment of the literary sections of the Dīnkard.[1]

THE DĪNKARD, the most comprehensive and the most learned work in Pahlavi literature, dating from the 9th century,[2] is occupied in the 8th and 9th books with a minute treatment of the Nasks. At this time almost the whole contents of the Sasanid Awesta must have been extant. The 8th book of the Dīnkard gives a compressed survey of all the Nasks and an analysis of them expressed, however, in certain places in general phrases. This latter is very succinct and often conveys nothing so far as it deals with the Nasks 1-14 and 19-21; on the other hand, for the Nasks 15-18 it goes into great detail. The author in the 9th book returns again to the discussion of the first three Nasks and gives a quite exhaustive statement of their contents. According to his statement only the Awesta text of the 5th Nask was extant; of the 11th Nask neither the Awesta text nor the Pahlavi translation (Zand) had been preserved. In regard to both these Nasks he abstains from all remark regarding their content. It follows from this that he knew all the rest from personal inspection and that his account is based simply on the Pahlavi commentary. In his time, therefore, there were still 20 Nasks extant and the commentary on 19 of them. When one compares his analysis of the Vendidād (D. 8, 44) with the book, it becomes clear that he was in a position, through the medium of the Pahlavi translation, to give us a correct representation of the contents of the Awesta. This is, however, not equally true in regard to all the Nasks.

§ 16. SURVEY OF THE NASKS. The entire Awesta canon as re-edited under the Sasanids, the great Awesta with its Pahlavi translation, consisted of 21 books which are made to stand parallel with the 21 words of the *Ahūno Vairyō,* the most sacred prayer. The following are the names (according to West's reading) in the order given in the

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[1] SBE. vol. XXXVII. Particular details taken from this Parsi tradition are already to be found in Haug: "An old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary," by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay 1870, p. 165; West, Essays, p. 126.

[2] West, Introduction to the Dinkard, p. 33.

Dīnkard (the contents are given in brackets where they can be stated in a few words) :—

1. Sūtkar.
2. Varštmānsar.
3. Bako.
4. Dāmdāt (History of Creation).
5. Nātar.
6. Pājag (Ceremonial).
7. Rato-dāt-aītag (especially dealing with the priest's office).
8. Bariš.
9. Kaškīsrōbo.
10. Vištāsp-sāsto (Conversion and Instruction of King Vishtāsp).
11. Vaštag (lost).
12. Čitradāt (History of human families, in especial of the Irānian royal families).
13. Spend (History of Zarathushtra).
14. Bakān Yašt.
15. Nīkātūm.
16. Ganabā-sar-nijat (Criminal Law, Civil and Military Law).
17. Hūspāram (Doctrine of the Priests).
18. Sakātūm (Law of Property and Family).
19. Vendīdāt.
20. Hātōkht.
21. Stōt Yašt.

The account given in the Dīnkard is supplemented, it is true, by the less trustworthy accounts of the various Rivayets. They give in the case of all the Nasks not only the exact number of chapters, but, in the case of some, also the pre- and post-Alexandrine content. Thus it is said of the Nasks 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11, which, before the invasion of Alexander, contained 50, 60, 60, 60, and 22 chapters, respectively, that when they were subsequently collected they mustered only 13, 12, 15, 10 and 6 chapters. [1]

§ 17. THE REMAINING BOOKS BESIDES THE VENDIDAD.

At first sight one is struck by the fact that amongst the titles of the Nasks the remaining books of our Awesta have nothing answering to them as we find the Yasna has. The more recent researches of West and Darmesteter[2] have confirmed or corrected the conjecture of Anquetil.[3]

[1] West gives extracts from four Rivayets in SBE., pp. 418-438. The notices given above are taken from the Rivayet of Kāmah Bahrah.

[2] "L'Izeschne n'est pas un Nosk, mais une portion de Nosk," Anquetil in Journal des Sçavans, Juin 1769, p. 369. "Je ne crains donc pas de dire que, selon tout les Parses de Perse et de l'Inde, Zoroastre avoit composé 21 Traités, dont il n'est resté d'entier que le Vendidad; et que les autres morceaux Zends, indiqués à la fin de la liste du Ravaet du Destour Barzou, ne sont que des portions de quelques-uns de ces Traités," *ib.* p. 307. With reference to the list given in the Rivayet, see SBE. XXXVII, p. 437.

[3] Darmesteter III, X *seq.*

The remaining texts were extant in the Nasks in their elements partly under somewhat different names or scattered over different Nasks. The books of the Awesta include these texts taken from the Nasks and in the particular arrangement which the Liturgy prescribed.[1]

Several Nasks have portions of the Yasna. These portions which have been hitherto identified with tolerable certainty, distribute themselves over the following Nasks:— (*a*) Stōt Yast, (*b*) Bako, (*c*) Hātōkht, (*d*) Bakān Yašt. The Stōt Yašt has passed completely into the Yasna, and forms its proper kernel. The Stōt Yašt was the collection of the so-called *Staota Yesnya* (see below, § 23), which, however, with interruptions, extended from Yasna 14-58. The Bako Nask is represented by Yasna 19-21, three homilies regarding the most sacred prayers, which, according to the account given in the Dīnkard 9,47, formed the first three Fargards of this Nask. The three chapters are still named in the MSS. of the Yasna Bakān and are called in the original text *baγa ahunahe vairyehe* (Y. 19, 21), *baγa ašahe vahištahe* (20, 5), *baγa yenghe hātām* (21, 5). Accordingly also the 55th Yasna, which according to the closing invocation, bears the title *baγa staotanām yesnyanām* "Homily of the Staota Y." might have belonged to the Bako Nask, and have formed the conclusion of the 22nd Fargard. The analysis given in the Dīnkard (9, 68) contains, however, no allusion to this, and it is not clear from 9, 69 what the writer may have had in view. Still it is just as possible that Yasna 55 belonged to the Stōt Yašt and there formed a kind of colophon to the Gathas. The Hātōkht Nask is represented by the *fšūšō māthrō hadhaokhtō* (this is the name borne by the 58th chapter of the Yasna, cf. Y. 59, 33, perhaps specially only the section 58, 4-7); finally the Bakān Nask is represented by Yasna 57 (Srōsh Yasht).

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[1] The Yasna and Vispered liturgy in the form which later became customary, is attested by the Varshtmānsar Nask itself according to the analysis given in the Dīnkard 9, 43, 7 (*cf.* West on this passage), further by Shāyast lā-Shāyast (of the 7th century, West SBE., V, Pref. 65) 13, 5, where Vispered 13 is discussed between Yasna 30 and 31, in the very same place which it comes to occupy in the Vendidad; compare also Dātistān ī Dīnīk 45, 6. The Yasna-ceremonial (*yazišn*) is further mentioned in Dātistān ī Dīnīk 22, 1; 28, 1 (*yazišn drōnō*), 4-7. Other passages with reference to the ritual are Dāt. 30, 1; 47, 1; 48, 1; Bundahish 30, 25, 28. Darmesteter (I, LXXXVIII; III, XXXII) communicates a passage from Masudi, according to which since the time when Ardeshir Bābak ascended the throne, the custom had come in of reciting one of the chapters of the Awesta which they called *Isned* (*Yasna*).

The Dīnkard (8, 15) gives the following short description of the Bakān Yašt Nask *(i. e.,* the Nask of the Yashts addressed to the *baγa* or divinities) :—"The Bagān Yasht contains particulars, first, about the worship of Aūharmazd, the highest of the *Baghas*; and, secondly, of the worship of the angels and other invisible and visible worldly beings, out of whom are likewise the names of the days; also about their glory, power, triumph and marvellousness. Besides, also, many angels who are invoked by name[1] at (the time of) their worship and the attention and obeisance due to them." Already West[2] has drawn from this the evident conclusion that in this description the Yashts of the Awesta are intended, and that these formed one part of the Bakān Yasht, a conjecture which Darmesteter[3] has worked out in greater detail. West found a confirmation of this view in a Persian Rivayet, according to which 16 specially named Yashts of our collection composed the Bakān Yašt.[4] And Darmesteter rightly lays great stress on the fact that the oldest Yasht MS. F_1 has preserved a reminiscence of its having formerly belonged to this Nask in beginning with every Yasht a new fargard from the 14th Yasht of our collection (the *Bahirām Yasht)* to the 19th or *Zamyād Yasht*. The number of the fargards does not, however, agree with our reckoning, but differs continually by 3. In the numbering given by the Rivayet the Yashts 2-4 are wanting in the Yashts 1-19; the order is there the usual one; only the Khurshēd Yasht stands at the end. When it is put in its proper place, the result is a complete agreement between the numbering of the fargards in F_1 and the number of the Yashts, and it becomes possible to reconstruct the arrangement of the old Bakān Yashts with exactness (the numbering of the fargard that is wanting in F_1 being given in brackets). The present arrangement is: 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,[5] 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. The arrangement in the Bakān Yasht: (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10), 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

The Yashts 2-4, which are wanting in the Bakān Yasht, are written in parts, in a very degenerate language; not less so, however, the

[1] *Cf. Aokhtōnāmana Yasna* in the Yashts.

[2] SBE., XXXVII, p. 35 n., 470 n.

[3] Darmesteter, II, XXVII.

[4] West, in the passage referred to in Pref. XLV. n.

[5] This is the second *Srōsh Yasht*, which is identical with that in Yasna 57.

extant first Yasht. The Hōm-Yasht (contained in full in Yasna 9-11, an extract of it in Yasht 20) could accordingly have had no place in the Bakān Yasht. It is, however, to be remarked that the statements regarding its fargard-number vary. The Rivāyets of Kāmah Bahrah, Narēmān Hōshang and Barzū Qiyāmu-d-dīn give it as 17[1]; so also the Pahlavi Rivāyet Dīn-Vijirgard.[2]

Further, from the Hātōkht Nask have been taken the small Srōsh Yasht (Nr. 11), the supposed Yashts 21 and 22 as given by Westergaard and the Āfrīngān Gahanbār (cf. § 9); from the Vīshtāsp-Sāsto, the Vīshtāsp Yasht, and the Āfrīn Paighambar Zartusht (Yt. 23 in Westergaard). The ritual work Nīrangistān had its place in the Hūspāram Nask, and, indeed, corresponds to the first two sections of this Nask, the Aērpatistān and the Nīrangistān in the narrower sense.[3] Darmesteter has besides assigned a series of Awesta fragments, with more or less probability, to this or that Nask.[4] If, however, a not inconsiderable portion of our Awesta remains over, which cannot be recognised in the Analysis given in the Dīnkard, this is due to the vague and all too scant description which in some places is characteristic of the Dīnkard. Indirectly much has passed from the Nasks into the later Parsi literature.[5]

West estimates the contents of all the 21 Nasks of the Great Awesta at about 345,700 words.[6] About 83,000 of these have been preserved to us, *i. e.* about one-fourth. There are many indications that the oldest elements of the Sasanid Awesta are those which have comparatively suffered least loss. In particular the Great Awesta seems to have possessed no more of the Gathas proper than the Awesta of to-day.[7]

ELEMENTS AND CHARACTER OF THE AWESTA.

§ 18. THE THREE CLASSES OF NASKS. The Dīnkard (VIII. 1, 9-12) divides the Nasks according to their character into 3 classes, each consisting of 7. The first class is called *gāsānīk*, with reference to the

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[1] West, in the place referred to, pp. 426, 431, 436.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 444.

[3] West, *ib.*, p 92.

[4] Darmesteter, III, XVI, XVII, compare also p. 9, n. 8.

[5] As specially valuable the collection entitled "extant fragments" in West, SBE., XXXVII, 451-488, is further to be mentioned.

[6] West, SBE. XXXVII, Introduction, p. 45.

[7] West, at the place cited, p. 42.

gāsan or Gathas; the second *dātīk*, dealing with the *dāt* or Law; and the third *hātak-mansarīk*, with reference to the *hadha-māthra*. The first two classes are called also simply *gāsān* or *dāt* (Dīnk. VIII 1, 5). These classes divide the 21 Nasks as follows:—

Gāsānīk:	Hātak-mānsarīk:	Dātīk:
1. Stōt Yašt.	1. Dāmdāt.	1. Nīkātum.
2. Sūtkar.	2. Nātar.	2. Ganabā-sar-nijat.
3. Varštmānsar.	3. Pājag.	3. Hūspāram.
4. Bako.	4. Rato-dāt-aītag.	4. Sakātūm.
5. Vaštag.	5. Bariš.	5. Vendīdāt.
6. Hātokht.	6. Kaškīsrōbo.	6. Čitradāt.
7. Spend.	7. Vištāsp-sāsto.	7. Bakān Yašt.

The Gātha literature, the *gāsān*, is meant to contain the higher spiritual knowledge and ethical code; the *dāt*, the law literature, the lower worldly knowledge and code of duty; while the *Hātak-mānsarīk* is intended to include those teachings which lie midway between the first two (Dīnk., VIII, 15). However, the Dīnkard itself admits that this distinction cannot be rigidly carried out, inasmuch as each of the three classes contains elements that belong to the other two (8, 1, 13). The classification from this standpoint is to some extent artificial, and springs from the endeavour to establish an exact analogy between the Awesta as a whole and the Ahuna Vairya strophe regarded as the quintessence and original of the whole Awesta revelation.[1] Each of the three lines of this strophe is held to correspond to a branch of the literature—the first to the Gatha literature, the second to the Intermediate literature, and the third to the Law (Dīnk. 8, 1, 7)[2].

These three elements in the literature are already fully recognised in the Awesta. The expression *gāthwya* in the Awesta (Yasna 65,14; 10, 19) corresponds to the *gāsānīk*, and is applied in the latter passage to a quotation which has been borrowed only in part from our known Gathas. *Hātak-mānsarīk* appears in the Awesta as *hadha-māthra*, and *dāt* is the well-known *dātəm*. In the Vendidad-ritual, instead of Yasna

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[1] This formula stands in Yasna 27, 13. It is as mysterious to-day as it was years ago. West translates the Pahlavi interpretation in SBE. XXXVII, p. 6 n. It plays the same rôle among the Parsis as the Gāyatri amongst the Hindus.

[2] In the Awesta itself the 3 lines (*afsman*) are made to run parallel with the three fundamental-ideas of Zoroastrian ethics *humata, hūkhta, hvaršta*, Yasna 19, 16.

1, 20, &c., "the Law", to which the Vendidad Nask is devoted, is invoked with the words :—*Dāta hadha*-dāta *vīdaēva Zarathushtri*. The Vīshtāsp-ritual[1] substitutes, as has been shewn above, in place of the Vendidād the Vīshtāsp Yasht, which has been borrowed from the Vīshtāsp Sāsto Nask, *i. e.*, a Nask of the Hātak-mānsarīk class, and is therefore to be assigned to the Intermediate class. Here at the same place (Y. 1, 20) the immediately following Vīshtāsp Yasht is introduced by the following parenthetical note : —*hadha-māthra zaini-paršta*. Now, if Darmesteter is correct in his interpretation (I, 9) of *dātəm hadha-dātəm* as "the law and its appendix," *hadha-māthra* must be taken as an appendix to the *māthra* proper, the sacred word, the real kernel of the revelation.

The *Zāt-sparam*[2] further divides the literature of the Law into two subdivisions—the law against Demons, represented by the Vendidad, and the law of Zartūsht, represented by the remaining Nasks. It subdivides similarly the Hadhamanthra into two :—the Manthra of the Appointer, represented by the Nasks *Pāčīno* and *Rat̲o-dāt̲o-aīto*, and the Manthra of the good signs, represented by the remaining Nasks. Beyond this, neither from the Zāt̲-sparam nor from the statements in the Dīnkard which are of the scantiest just at this point, can we get any tangible information regarding the proper character and contents of the Intermediate literature. This entire group has on the whole suffered the greatest amount of decay. Our Awesta of to-day appears to have preserved only a very small amount of Hadhamanthra literature. Those Nasks, which besides the Stōt̲ Yasht, have the largest representation in the extant Awesta texts, namely Hāt̲ōkht, Bak̲ān and Hūspāram, are reckoned the first to the Gāsānīk Nasks, the two latter to the Dātīks. Our Yashts, accordingly, belong only to the literature of the Law or worldly literature. West[3] conjectures with much plausibility that the Hadhamanthra literature was the semi-religious portion and occupied itself with philosophy and the sciences. The loss of it is, therefore, doubly regrettable, but also easily explicable. The Gatha literature was the theological literature in the proper sense of the term.[4] It is so called not because it contains exclusively

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[1] *Cf.* above § 12.

[2] West, at the place cited, p. 402.

[3] At the place cited, p. 4.

[4] See Darmesteter III, x.

Gatha texts, but because the Gatha texts in the Stōt Yasht stand at the head and also because the whole literature is based essentially on these oldest portions. The Dātīk literature was the worldly portion the knowledge of which was intended for the laity. It was so called because the Law formed an important part of it. The Hadhamanthra literature was the scientific literature which rested on theology and supplemented it. This tripartite division may have been analogous, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Indian classification into Veda, Vedānga and Smriti. Another passage compares the three classes of the literature with the three classes of men—probably the priests, philosophers and the laity.[1]

§ 19. VENDIDAD. It follows from what has been said that this threefold division is no longer applicable to our Awesta. All that remains after deducting the Gathas in the proper sense and the law-book, the Vendidad, falls under two categories—the forms of prayer or litany, and the Yashts or religious poems of Iran. Of course, the entire Awesta, with the solitary exception perhaps of the Gathas, suffers from a certain formalism and schematism—the Yashts as well as the Vendidad. This lies in the character of the Zoroastrian religion. Everywhere there is the same tendency to follow certain ideas, wherever they occur, through the whole scale of their synonyms or the whole gradation of their relatives in order. The mention of the house (*nmāna*) drags in that of the clan (*vīs*, consisting of 15 couples in the system), then that of the district (*zantu*), and finally that of the country (*dainghu*).[2] The theory and practice of the doctrine of the Vendidad on purification is often only a model casuistry classifying mechanically according to number, quantity and material. "Where is the first pleasantest thing on this earth, where the second pleasantest, and where the third and the fourth in the order of pleasantness? Where is the first unpleasantest thing on this earth, where the second, etc.?" (Vend. 3.) "Whosoever throws on the earth the bone of a carcase as large as the last joint of his little finger, as large as the last joint of his middle finger, as large as the last joint of his largest finger, as long as a finger or a rib, as long as two fingers or two ribs, as long as an arm or leg, etc., receives 30, 50, 70, 90, 200, 400 stripes assigned in order." (Vend. 6,

[1] West, at the place cited, p. 5 note; compare also the definition which Anquetil gives of the three classes of Nasks according to information derived from the Parsis: 1. "Du premier Principe, de l'origine des êtres, de l'Histoire du Genre humain," &c.—2. "Sur la Morale et les Devoirs Civils et de Religion."—3. "La Médecine et l'Astronomie." Anquetil I, I, p. 479.

[2] *E. g.* Yasna 9, 28; 57, 14.

10-21). In many cases, however, the detailed classification of offences and punishments has a deeper significance, as for example when in prescribing purifications the distinction is conscientiously marked, whether the wood is hard or soft, whether the ground is solid or loose, the vessels are of gold, silver, iron, copper or stone, whether the water is stagnant, from a cistern, from a fountain, snow-water or river-water. But when (Vend. 15, 23) the Creator is asked for detailed information as to what is to be done with a bitch which litters in a camel's, or horse's, or cow's or sheep's stall or on a wall, in a cellar, or on a meadow and the law-giver each time gives the same answer,[1] we have a striking instance of the mania for spinning out the same thought in endless variations. Also the external form of the teachings of the Law is stereotyped:—"Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda: Ahura Mazda, holiest spirit, creator of all earthly beings, Holy one, when does the corpse-spirit spring on dead men.[2] Thereupon Ahura Mazda said," &c. The technical name for these instructive interviews between Ormuzd and Zoroaster is *Āhūiriš frašnō* and *Āhūiriš ṭkaēšō* "the Ahurian questioning and the Ahurian teaching" (Yasna 71, 12; 57, 24). The same form of outward expression is usual also in other books, *e.g.*, in Yasht 1, 1; 14, 1. Even the Gathas are at certain points thought of as conversations between the two, *e. g.* 50, 2. Ormuzd is often introduced as speaking without any preceding interpellation[3], as in Vend. 1, 1; Yasht 8, 1; 10, 1; 13, 1, and in many other places. In Yasna 71, 1 not Zoroaster but Frashaoshtra is introduced as the questioner and Zoroaster is himself the teacher.

§ 20. THE FORMS OF PRAYER in the Awesta are long-winded ascriptions of praise without movement or content, sometimes a mere list of names and tables of gods, genii, and holy things, sometimes adorned with the usual adjectives. Their whole art and function lies in a circumstantial exhaustive recounting of the names and properties of the divine beings, their companions and helpers, and ideas related to them, according to the order supplied by rank, time, ritual, and the whole cosmological system of Zoroastrianism. The constantly recurring formula is *yazamaide*, "We worship the——," or a similar one. "We here worship the souls of the dead, the Fravashis of the pious. We reverence the Fravashis of all ancestors, teachers and pupils, pious

[1] Vendidad 15, 23-42. [2] Vendidad, 7, 1.
[3] Only the solemn address to Mazda is wanting: Vd. 5, 1; 6, 1; 8, 1; 13, 1; 15, 1.

men and pious women who died in this house. We worship the Fravashis of all pious teachers. We worship the Fravashis of all pious pupils. We worship the Fravashis of all pious men; we worship the Fravashis of all pious women."[1]—"We worship the holy Sraosha, we worship the high Lord, namely Ahura Mazda, who is the highest (Lord) of Asha, who is the most richly helpful Lord of Asha. We reverence all Zoroastrian words, and we reverence all good works, both past and future."[2]—"We reverence Ahura Mazda, the gloriously renowned; we reverence the Amesha Spenta whose kingdom is good, the benefactors. We reverence Vohu Manō, the Amesha Spenta; we reverence peace and victory, which is superior to the other creatures; we reverence the inherent Mazda-created wisdom, we reverence the Mazda-created wisdom that has been heard by the ear."[3] These forms of prayer fill up a considerable part of the whole Awesta, and have given it, not unjustly, the discredit of being a dull insipid book.[4]

§ 21. THE YASHTS also are abundantly filled with such formulæ. The smaller Yashts, indeed, consist mainly of such forms. The larger Yashts, on the other hand, which alone have a real claim to the name, bear a somewhat higher stamp. They are artistically arranged, and in their inward essence they are real poetry. The outward mark of a correct Yasht is the division into fargards with a standing introduction and refrain. This is confined to the following Yashts:—5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 and the great Srōsh Yasht (Yasna 57).[5] The second criterion is the preponderance of metre. For the most part they are composed in measured language, not merely in a rhythmic pr se[6], but in real metre, in the current eight-syllabled measure with lines of twelve syllables thrown in. The only metrical principle here followed seems to be the retention of the definite number of syllables. When the metre does not always come out quite correct, this is due in part to the somewhat later form of the language in the written texts, partly also to the want of a strict adherence to form on the part of the poets, but still more to the fact

[1] Yasna 26, 7-8. [2] Yasna 70, 7. [3] Sīroze 2, 1-2.

[4] For a characterization of the book, compare also DUNCKER, p. 74; ED. MEYER, p. 507.

[5] The Rashn Yasht (12) was first distributed into Fargards by the later MSS. F1 knows nothing of this division.

[6] DARMESTETER, I., p. 79 n., and XCIX n.

that these writings have come to us re-edited and re-touched.[1] Also the religious poetry of the Iranians is predominantly sober and monotonous, only occasionally does a higher movement, the warm breath of natural vivacity, sweep through their compositions.

Anquetil defines the Yashts as "hymns of praise which set forth the principal characteristics of the genii, their relation to Ormuzd and His creation, their characteristics as the distributors of the blessings which Ormuzd has spread over Nature, and as the declared enemies of Ahriman and his servants."[2] This definition reproduces only one side of the Yashts. The Yashts are composed of description and narrative; the former is for the most part copious and extended, the latter brief, lively and suggestive, like the history of the Aryan arrow-shooter Erekhsha[3] in Yasht 8, 6, or the inroad of Ahriman upon the pure creation (Yasht 13, 77-78); only rarely worked out at length like the story, spiced with a certain humour, of the contest between Azhi Dahāka and fire for the *hvarənō*, the Iranian king's splendour and the vain hunt of the Frangrasyan after it (Yasht 19, 46-64). These mythical episodes and characteristic touches, interspersed here and there, are the most precious pearls in the Yashts. They are taken from the heroic *Epos* of the ancient Iranians, and, since they are pretty abundant, they serve as a tolerable substitute for this lost epic. The entire hero-lore, which Firdusi celebrates at such length, is already contained in germ in the Yashts, from Haoshyangha (Hōshang) downwards to Vīshtāspa (Gushtāsp), not seldom, indeed, set forth in richer form than in the Shāhnāme. On the other hand, many an obscure reference in the Awesta to the old tradition has been first brought into its true light by Firdusi.[4]

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[1] With reference to the metre, compare WESTPHAL, Zur Vergleichenden Metrik der Indogermanischen Völker, K.Z. 9,437, especially 444 *seq.*— Roth in Z.D.M.G.25,215.— TOERPEL, De metrices partibus Zendavestae, Halle, 1874.—GELDNER, Ueber die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta, Tübingen, 1877.—F. Allen, Über den Ursprung des homerischen Versmasses, K.Z., 24, 556, especially, p. 559 *seq.* The editors of the Awesta had no idea of the metre of the later Awesta; but it forces itself on the reader unsought.

[2] ANQUETIL II, 143. Another definition contained in the Dīnkard was given above, § 17.

[3] The *Arish* of the later Persian myth. Compare Nöldeke in Z.D.M.G. 35, 445; DARMESTETER. Et. Ir., II, p. 220.

[4] DARMESTETER has worked in this direction especially with good result. Compare I, XLVI, and his translation of the Yashts. With reference to the agreement of the Awesta and the Shāhnāme, in regard to the mythical history of Iran, compare especially SPIEGEL: Awesta und Shāhnāme, Z.D.M.G. 45, 187.

The chronology of the hero-traditions, the succession in the two mythical royal lines, the Paradhātas or Pēshdāds, and the Kavis or Kayānians, with the various interregnums, as it lies at the basis of the epic portions of the Awesta, agrees in all essential points with the Shāhnāme.[1] In the Yashts 5, 9, 15, 17, the old heroes and kings of the Epos serve only as a foil. It is related how these reverenced the divinity in question and made sure of its help for particular ends. They are brought forward in the traditional succession, and numerous mythical features are interwoven in the narrative. On the other hand the most original of all the Yashts, the 19th, contains the history of the hvarenō, we might say of the Iranian kingly crown, and sketches in broad outlines the entire history of old Iranian dynasties, their conflicts and the vicissitudes of their fortune. This is a real piece of epic writing. The list of the kings is here most complete. This Yasht, at least from para. 9, where also the division into fargards begins, down to its close, bears with much greater right the title Kayān Yasht attested in the oldest MS. than that which is usually given, the Zamyād Yasht (cf. § 8). The conclusion (89—96) is an apocalypse depicting the passing of the Iranian royal crown to Sōshyōs, the future Saviour, and the resurrection, the triumph of Sōshyōs and the final besieging of Ahriman. The epic of descriptive elements, and those which deal with forms, by no means exhaust the contents of the Yashts. They contain many other kinds of teaching, which stand in some connection or other with the particular Yazad, on the subject of charms, amulets, oracles, sacrifices, atonements and heresy. In this respect the 14th Yasht is the most copious.

THE GATHAS.

§ 22. Within the Awesta a small group of texts occupy a unique position by reason of the style of the language in which they are written. These are the so-called Gathas (*gāthāo*). Gāthā, Phlv. *gās*, plur. *gāsān*, is employed in a wider sense, especially in later usage, and designates the entire Gatha literature (*vide* § 18) of which the Gathas, in the narrower and strict sense, form the centre. Accordingly we are to include under the Gathas all those Awesta texts which are composed in the Gatha dialect. In its narrower and proper sense the term is restricted to the metrical portions of the former, *i. e.*, to their five separate groups

[1] NÖLDEKE: Kayanier im Awesta, in Z.D.M.G. 32, 570; The writer in K.Z. 25, 379; DARMESTETER II, xxviii.

(*cf.* § 23). In a still narrower sense the Phlv. *gās* designates the separate lines of a Gatha strophe which are called in the Awesta *afsmana*[1]. The text of the Gathas had its place in the great Sasanid Awesta in the first of the Gatha Nasks, in the *Stōt Yasht*. The next following three Nasks were, to judge by the preceding tests or from the statement of their contents given in the Dīnkard, more modern productions which were related directly or indirectly to the Gathas—commentaries or homilies on them. They illustrated the Gathas theologically from various standpoints. The Sūtkar was only loosely connected with the Gathas. Its aim was to draw useful doctrines from the Gathas, to illustrate them by the aid of legends, and to append to them fuller discussions[2] (Dīnkard 9, 2-23). The Nask Varshtmānsar prefixed a chapter on the birth and call of Zarathushtra, the following 22 chapters contained, according to the analysis given in the Dīnkard, a table of contents of the Gathas, besides discussions thereon and appendices thereto. The original text of this Nask must have contained the quintessence of the more ancient indigenous interpretation of those pieces that date from a hoary antiquity[3] (Dīnkard 9, 24-46). The character of the third Nask, the *Bako*, is most clearly seen in the three chapters of Yasna 19-21, by which it is represented in our Awesta (Dīnkard 9, 47-68). WEST calls it "an analytical commentary."[4] It appears to have adhered with greater closeness to the letter of the Gathas. In all the three commentaries there is a chapter devoted to one of the 17 metrical Gathas and the *Airyama Ishyō* (Y. 54), one devoted to the three sacred prayers which were prefixed to the Gathas, and one to the Yasna Haptanghāiti. The Sūtkar and Bako counted accordingly each 22 and the Varshtmānsar 23 Fargards.

§ 23. The Stōt Yasht was the collection of the texts named *Stōtān Yasnān,* from which it received its name. In the Awesta the Stōtān Yasnān are called *Staota Yesnya,* and there designate this same collection incorporated in the Yasna (*cf.* Yasna 54, 2 ; 55, 3. 6. 7 ; 58, 8; 71 7. 18 ; Visp. 1, 3 ; 3, 7 ; 12, 3 ; 23, 1 ; Yasht 10, 122). They are

1 WEST, Glossary, under the word *vēchast*, p. 249. HAUG, in "Die Ahuna-vairya-Formel", Sitzungsberichte der philos. philol. und Hist. Kl. der K. G. Akademie zu München, 1872, p. 97.

2 WEST, SBE. XXXVII, p. 173 n.

3 Fuller information in DARMESTETER I, CIV.

4 WEST, at the passage cited, p. 303 n.

called "the laws for the first life" (an allusion to Y. 33, 1). The expression occurs in a technical sense in a passage in the Gathas, somewhat in the same way in which in the Rig-veda *ṛcaḥ* occurs, not as the name of a completed collection, but as a specific term for a particular kind of style. The Staota Yesnya seem to be somewhat more comprehensive than the Gathas properly so-called. On the other hand, they do not include everything that was written in the Gatha-dialect. The interesting chapter 12 of the Yasna, is not included in them. In the *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* 13, 1, we have the definite testimony that the *Staota Yesnya* begin with the words *vīsāi və aməšā spəntā, i.e.,* with Yasna 14, 1. On the other hand they are named for the last time in the liturgical note added at the end of the chapter in 58,8. They must. therefore, thus fall between 14-58, but not continuously. According to the Rivayets the Stōt Yasht numbered 33 chapters.[1] This number cannot now be made out with certainty. According to my view the Gatha-dialect is indispensable for the Stōt Yasht. The chapters 16-17, 19-26, 52, 55 and 57 would have to be eliminated. Chapter 18 is only a liturgical repetition of 51, 7 and 47. If we assume that the three most sacred prayers, to each of which the three Nask Commentaries devoted a separate fargard, formed in the original Nask three separate pieces, and that, further, the Yasna Haptanghāiti, although in the Commentaries it is gathered up into a unity (Dīnk. 9, 12, 35, 57), had retained its original division into chapters in the Stōt Yasht from which it received its name, the number 33 would work out as follows: —

Y. 14		Y. 34		Y. 45	
15[2]		35		46	
Yathā ahū vairyō		36		47	
Ašəm vohū		37		48	
Yenghē hātām		38		49	
Y. 28		39		50	
29		40		51	
30		41		53	
31		42		54	
32		43		56	
33		44		58, 1-3[3]	
11	+	11	+	11	= 33

[1] West, SBE. XXXVII, p. 169 n.
[2] Not quite identical with Y. 51, 22.
[3] The conclusion belongs to another Nask.

The Gathas occupy the largest space in these Staota Yesnya. They are divided into five separate groups according to the five different metres or strophes employed. The individual groups are arranged in the descending order of their length. They are named from their initial words; similarly the individual chapters or Hāitis of a group have titles taken from their first and, in isolated cases, from their second word.

The first group is called the Ahunavaiti Gatha (34, 16) from the second word of the single strophe placed at the head of the group *Yathâ ahū vairyō* (the *Ahuna Vairya, Honover* in ANQUETIL).

It is made up of the following seven Chapters[1]:—

1. Ahyāsa Hāiti,	11	Strophes,	Y. 28
2. Xšmāvya-gəuš-urva H.	11	,,	Y. 29
3. At-tā-vaxšya H.	11	,,	Y. 30
4. Tā-və-urvāta H.	22	,,	Y. 31
5. Xvaētumaithya H.	16	,,	Y. 32
6. Yathāišitha H.	14	,,	Y. 33
7. Yā-šyaothana H.	15	,,	Y. 34

The strophe (*vēcast*) of the Ahunavaiti Gatha, including the Ahuna Vairya, consists of 3 verses (*gās*) of 7 + 9 or 7 + 8 syllables. A cæsura occurs regularly at the end of the 7th syllable.[2]

The second group is the Uštavaiti Gatha (Y. 46, 20). It consists of 4 chapters:—

1. Uštavaiti Hāiti,	16	Strophes,	Y. 43
2. Tat-thwā-pərəsa H.	20	,,	Y. 44
3. At-fravaxšya H.	11	,,	Y. 45
4. Kamnamaēza H.	19	,,	Y. 46

The strophe of the Ushtavaiti Gatha consists of 5 lines[3] of 4 + 7 syllables. The cæsura occurs at the end of the fourth syllable.

[1] The names are partly modelled after the later Awesta.

[2] On the metre of the Gathas, compare AUREL MAYR, Resultate der Silbenzählung aus den vier ersten Gathas, Wien 1871 (from the Julihoft der Sitzungsberichte der phil-hist. Kl. der K. Akademie d. W. zu Wien, 1871).—Ch. BARTHOLOMAE, Arische Forschungen. Zweites Heft. Halle, 1886. pp. 1-32.

[3] With the exception of 46, 15 where there are only four lines. With reference to this compare Shāyast lā-Shāyast 13, 51.

The third group is called the Spentā-mainyu Gatha (Y. 50. 12). To it belong the following four chapters:—

1.	Spentā-mainyu Hāiti	6	strophes	Y. 47
2.	Yezidha H.	12	„	Y. 48
3.	At-māyava H.	12	„	Y. 49
4.	Kat-mōi-urva H.	11	„	Y. 50

The Spentā-mainyu-strophe consists of four lines each of 4 + 7 syllables, and thus corresponds to the Indian Tristubh. In individual cases the Jagati measure, 5 + 7 syllables, takes its place, especially in Y. 48, 5 and 6.

The last two groups comprise each one chapter; they are the Vohukhshathra Gatha with the Vohukhshathra Hāiti—22 strophes,—Y. 51, and the Vahishtōishti Gatha with the Vahishtoishti Hāiti—9 strophes,—Y. 53. The strophe of the former consists of three lines each of 7 + 7 syllables. The Vahishtōishti strophe is made up of two shorter and two longer lines, the former of 7 + 5 syllables with one cæsura, the latter of 7 + 7 + 5 syllables with double cæsura. To the last Gatha is attached, without being reckoned, one of the Gathas proper, a single strophe the *Airyama Ishyō*. The metre is that of the Vahishtōishti Gatha, although the traditional division of the lines does not entirely agree with this metre. Of the three most sacred prayers prefixed to the Gathas proper the *Honover* has been already mentioned. The *Yenghē Hātām* (complete in Y. 27, 15) consists of three lines of 11 syllables each. It is an imitation of the genuine Gatha strophe 51, 22. The *Aṡəm Vohū* prayer, which stands complete in Y. 27, 14, so oft quoted in its opening words, is, on the other hand, prose. The Shāyast lā-Shāyast (13, 50) gives an exact numerical reckoning of all the strophes, lines, words and syllables of the Gathas, and Zāt-sparam[1] the symbolism of these numbers. Each chapter of the Gathas is provided with a separate note at the end in the style usual in liturgical forms.

§ 24. The Gathas are composed in an ancient richly developed language, which diverges largely both in form and vocabulary from the ordinary Awesta. The linguistic differences between the "Gatha-dialect" and the "later Awesta," belong to the department of gram-

[1] SBE. XXXVII., pp. 403 *seq.*

mar. The external characteristic of the Gatha-dialect is the uniform lengthening of the final vowel. In this respect it has many points of contact with the Old Persian of the Inscriptions. Further a distinction must be made between the genuine ancient Gatha-dialect and the imitated or mixed form of it. The latter is found, for example, in Y. 56 and largely in the confessions, also in the *Yenghe Hātām* prayer.

The rest of the Awesta confirms the conjecture suggested by the language of these texts, namely, that they are the oldest portions of the whole book. They are the source and original text for the later Awesta, the sacred words *par excellence*. According to the Shāyast lā-Shāyast 13, 3 they were formed out of the body of the holy man. They are often invoked as sacred things,[1] quoted innumerable times as wonder-working charms (*e. g.* Vd. 8, 20; Farg. 10 and 11). They are the basis of manifold imitations and particular forms of speech. These imitations of the Gathas are often nothing more than a transference of the ancient dialect into the current modern Awesta language. Thus the line *taṯ thwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā Ahurā* 44, 1 is modernised in Vd. 19, 10 into *taṯ thwā pərəsā arš mē vaoča Ahura;* and 49, 7 *yə vərəzənāi vanguhīm dāṯ frasastīm* is varied into *yā mē varəzānāi vanguhīm dāṯ frasastīm* Yasht 9, 26. Similarly in 71, 13 compared with 46, 6 and elsewhere.

Only the Gathas are held in the Awesta to be the immediate utterances of Zarathushtra, while the remaining books record his words more in the style of a report. They are called the Gathas of the holy Zarathushtra (Y. 57, 8). Legend imagines Zarathushtra speaking in the Gathas on solemn occasions (Y. 9, 1). Zarathusthra has communicated in the Gathas all the moral laws which have been revealed in the whole contents of the Awesta and has given them their authority (Neriosangh before Yasna 28).

Every Gatha chapter (Hāiti) forms a complete whole in itself, the separate strophes of which are connected together, although often only loosely. In Yasna 44, every strophe, with the exception of the last, is introduced by the same question. Similarly, in Y. 43, strophes 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-14, 15-16 hang together; so also 45, 1-6. The exordium and conclusion are most distinctly marked. The first strophe

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[1] For example, Vend. 19, 38.

sometimes states the subject, e. g., in 30, 1. The concluding strophe is frequently an *oratio pro domo* of the prophet considered as speaker, e.g., 33, 14; 43, 16; 45, 11; 49, 12; 50, 11. Zarathushtra speaks of himself sometimes in the third person (28, 6; 33, 14; 43, 16; 46, 13; 49, 12; 51 12; 53, 1), sometimes in the first person (28, 7; 43, 8; 46, 19), sometimes in both together (50, 6; 51, 15); sometimes he apostrophizes himself (46, 14).

In the present imperfect state of the interpretation of the Gathas every judgment regarding these interesting texts must be accepted with great caution.[1] A unique spirit, more profound than that which meets us in all the rest of the Awesta, speaks in the Gathas. Almost every strophe contains a pregnant thought. It is true that the Gathas always bring us back again to the fundamental ideas of the Mazda-religion; but these ideas appear constantly in a new and distinctive garb. The style of expression is almost entirely free from the influence of pattern and uniformity, such as we find in most of the other texts; nothing is commonplace or trivial, everything is measured and pithy. In their mystical obscurity and their compressed, often enigmatical, brevity they remind us in many ways of the old Upanishads. They deal much more with principles than details; but they are preponderatingly eschatological in character. The conflict of the two spirits, which is the meaning of this world, the final issue of this conflict, the eternal and temporal recompense of all deeds, the future judgment and trial by fire, the expected kingdom of Mazda,—these are the leading themes which ever recur in continual variation.

The essential distinction between the Gathas and all the other texts lies entirely in the personality of Zarathushtra. In the Gathas it presents itself in a much less legendary form, in a form brought much nearer to our humanity. Mention is made only of his being called and taught by Vohu Manō and Ahura Mazda, but not of his bodily temptations through the instrumentality of Ahriman. His relation to his patrons, especially to King Vishtāspa and his councillors, stands forth more vividly and more conspicuously. The subjective and personal element is predominant; the texts are rich in allusions to enemies and experiences and occurrences of which the rest of the Avesta knows

[1] Compare also Darmesteter I, XCVII *seq.*, and Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris 1877, p. 311; De Harlez, Avesta, CLXXXII.

nothing. In the second place the spirit-world of the Gathas is preponderatingly abstract, by which we by no means imply that the thoughts also of the Gathas are pure abstraction or speculation. The Haoma with its cult, the Fravashis, Mithra, and the entire concrete and naturalistic pantheon are unknown to the Gathas. In like manner also the ceremonial outward sacrificial worship gives place to the moral and spiritual element. From this silence of the texts it would, of course, not be legitimate to conclude that sensuous conceptions of the supernatural world and supernatural beings had been entirely banished from the older Mazda-religion,[1] and that the Gathas represent the primitive, the later texts the degenerate Mazda-religion as adapted to the spirit of the people[2]. The Gathas reflect rather only one side of the same Mazda-religion, its *esoteric* doctrine. They are intended for the narrower circle of the initiated. The greatest emphasis is laid on the "knowing," and the "initiated" one (*vīduš*, *vaēdəmnō*). He has a preferential right before the multitude (*pourūš* 47, 6) to the best of Mazda's Revelation. Repeated allusion is made to the secret and higher doctrines (46, 3; 48, 3).[3]

§ 25. The expression Gatha is not simply to be interpreted etymologically as = hymn, or song. It is to be remembered that in India the expression *gāthā* is often used in a technical sense. It designates amongst the Brahmans as well as the Buddhists the verses scattered over narrative prose which either form an integral part of the narrative, or were tacked on to the prose, and in this case its contents recapitulated in a brief and easily remembered summary.[4] By reason of their form they were quite peculiarly adapted for oral tradition, and were perhaps originally selected for this purpose. They have often become detached from the accompanying prose and have been preserved alone without the latter. If we might assume a similar position for the Gathas of the Awesta, these would also presuppose a lost prose substratum of which the Gathas formed the introduction, resumés and aperçus. Their peculiar composition, their generally uniform arrangement, the thread of

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[1] *Cf.* PISCHEL in G.G.A. 1894, No. 6, p. 417.

[2] HÜBSCHMANN, Ein Zoroastrisches Lied, München 1872, p. 2.

[3] With reference to the secret doctrines and sayings, which, in the later books, are recommended to special discretion, compare Yasht, 4, 9; 14, 46.

[4] Compare ED. MÜLLER, Der Dialekt des Gathas der Lalitavistara, Weimar 1874, p. 3.

thought running through them even when the individual strophes are loosely connected, are all in favour of this supposition.[1] Many strophes point to a lost context by a demonstrative which cannot be explained by anything in the preceding text (*e.g.*, Yas. 30, 3.)

We may, therefore, well suppose that in the Gathas has been preserved for us the quintessence of the doctrinal teachings or sermons which the oldest tradition put into the mouth of the prophet and caused to be preserved in the circle of the faithful, his school and privileged followers. But whether a certain authenticity may be ascribed further to these *Sravāo Zarathuštri* "Zarathushtrian Utterances", is a question to which, in view of the fluctuating opinions with regard to Zoroaster's age and historical person, no definite answer can be given.

Each of the Gatha chapters seems to be related to a definite occurrence contained in the legends of the saint or to be conceived on the basis of some concrete situation, which indeed shines through in allusions, but in its entirety remains veiled from our view. Nearly every one of these 17 chapters, while it has its own peculiar stamp, is, as it were, tuned to a different key. The background is most distinct in Yasna 53; it is a family scene, an address to his relatives and the princes who were related to him by marriage, perhaps on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Pouruchīsta. Y. 47 might have been put in his mouth in view of the fire-ordeal, to which, according to the later legend, Zoroaster had to submit himself.[2] Unique in its style is Y. 29; they are the dialogue verses in the well-known myth of *Gous Urvan*. Y. 30 is specially instructive in regard to the dualistic system of doctrine. Chapter 43 depicts his call by Mazda. Personal relations are touched especially in 46 and 51. Y. 32 may be considered the most obscure Gatha.[3]

§ 26. SAMPLE OF A TRANSLATION FROM THE GATHAS.—

1. Yasna 45, 1-11 :—And I will speak, now listen, now hear ye who seek instruction from far and near; now all ye perceive Him, for He is manifest ; the false-teacher shall not a second time destroy the world, the satanic tongue which confessed a false faith.

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[1] See PISCHEL and GELDNER, Vedische Studien, Vol. I., Stuttgart 1889, p. 287.

[2] For example, in the Zartusht Nāme, *cf.* ANQUETIL I, 2, n. 33.

[3] The Gathas have been edited particularly by CH. BARTHOLOMAE : Die Gathas, Halle, 1879, with a review of the metre and an index of words.

2. And I will speak of the two spirits in the beginning of the world, of whom the holy one thus spake to the evil one : " Neither our respective thoughts nor doctrines, nor knowledge, nor efforts, nor words, nor deeds, nor religions, nor souls, can harmonize."

3. And I will speak of the first (most important) thing in this life which Ahura Mazda the Knowing One has proclaimed to me. To those among you who do not fulfil it—the word—as I intend and say it, will the end of the world be sad.

4. And I will speak of the Best One of this world—from Asha have I learned, O Mazda! Who created it—of the Father of the active Vohu Manō. And His daughter is the good-working Armaiti. The all-seeing Ahura is not to be deceived.

5. And I will speak of that which the Holiest One has said to me, the word to hearken to which is the best for man : " Those who will always yield obedience to Me, this one[1] shall attain to Haurvatāt and Ameretatāt through the working of the Vohu Manō," (so spake) He Ahura Mazda.

6. And I will speak of Him Who is the greatest of all, praising Him, O Asha! Who is the wisest of all. By His holy spirit shall Ahura Mazda hear it in Whose worship I was instructed by the Vohu Manō. According to His wisdom shall He teach me that which is best.

7. They shall desire the advantage of this, which brings reward, namely, those who live, who were and shall be. The soul of the pious rejoice in that which is a torture in eternity for the men of Satan. And this Mazda Ahura brings to pass by His Kingdom.

8. I seek how to bring Him to us with hymns of entreaty[2] since now I long to see it before my eyes (the kingdom) of good thinking, good action, and good speaking, I, O Asha! who know the Mazda Ahura. And in paradise we will offer Him homage.

9. I seek Him that He may be graciously disposed to us, together with the Vohu Manō, Who can at His pleasure create for us comfort or discomfort. May Mazda, through His Kingdom, bring us to efficiency, and our cattle and people to prosperity, in consequence of the wisdom of Vohu Manō, O Asha!

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[1] The Prophet.

[2] Literally : " with entreaty."

10. Him will I glorify with the prayers of piety Who in unchangeableness is called Mazda Ahura because His Asha and Vohu Manō revealed that there shall be in His kingdom Haurvatāt and Ameretatāt, in His abode might and continuance.

11. To him therefore who in the future will contemn the Devs and the men who contemn him, and all others except the man who pays reverence to him, the Saoshyant, as Master, as Lord, will the holy religion be a friend, brother, or father, O Mazda Ahura!

Yasna 50, 4-6. And I will worship You praising You, O Mazda Ahura! together with Asha and Vahishtem Manō and Khshathra and the wished for[1] (fem.) revealer[2] of the well-disposed, ye who wait for the faithful on the way to Paradise.

5. Since are fulfilled, O Mazda Ahura! O Asha! as soon as you are kindly disposed to your prophet with visible manifest help, your beckonings[3] which transport us into Paradise.

6. When the Prophet Zarathushtra lifts his voice, O Mazda! as friend, O Asha! praying, may the Creator of wisdom teach him through Vohu Manō the rules that they may be a right path for my tongue.

§ 27. Yasna Haptanghāiti. In the midst of the Gathas proper, after the first group, according to the generally adopted principle of arrangement, a text of quite a unique character has been inserted, the so-called Seven-Chapter-Yasna (*Yasna Haptanghāitiš*, cf. the subscription in Y. 41, 8). In the Sūtkar this portion is named simply the Yasna (Dīnk. 9, 12, 1), and is treated of in a single fargard; so also in the Varshtmānsar (9, 35) and Bako Nask (9, 57). The Haptanghāiti proper extends from *tat at* in 35, 3 to 41, 6. The introduction (35, 1-2) and the concluding chapter (42) bear the impress of a later date. In the Shāyast lā-Shāyast (13, 16), Y. 35, 2 also is reckoned as part of the Haptanghāiti. The Seven-Chapter-Yasna is, with a few exceptions, prose;[4] although tradition following the analogy of the Yasnas proper has divided it into strophes (*vēčast*) and metrical lines (*gās*)[5]. Its

[1] Literally: "of the wish" = *išyā* in the distinct parallel 48, 8.

[2] The *Chinvat* bridge which every one must pass over. Dīnk. 9, 20, 3.

[3] Literally: "wish with the hand."

[4] The usual eight syllable metre is found in chapter 40.

[5] Compare Shāyast lā-Shāyast 13, 16 *seq.*, and the remarks in Geldner's edition on chapter 35.

language is as ancient as that of the metrical Gathas, but the thoughts and expression are simpler. In parts the *yazamaide*-formula which later became customary, preponderates especially in chapters 37, 38, and 39. Each chapter is devoted to a special theme with regard to which Shāyast lā-Shāyast in the place quoted may be compared. Chapter 36 was intended to treat of the six fire-ordeals(*var*). In reality it speaks of fire, especially of that which plays the chief part in the fire-test in the last judgment. Chapter 37 is defined as a thanksgiving for the good creations of Mazda. The definition of the remaining chapters is less appropriate. Chapter 38 treats of the earth and its *genii* as also of the waters; chapter 39 of animals, the souls of the pious and the Amesha Spentas; 40 and 41 of rewards in this world and the next. There seems to be no close connection between the separate chapters.

It is striking that the name of Zarathushtra does not occur in it.[1] This is, however, only an accident; for Y. 35, 9 and 10 contains an unmistakable allusion to him. One might be tempted to see in some chapters, especially the first, replies to Zarathushtra's discourses from within the circle of his congregations, so that they thus form in some measure the complement to the metrical Gathas. Beyond this little can be asserted positively regarding their proper purpose and literary significance.

§ 28. Sample of a translation from the Yasna Haptanghāiti, Yasna 35, 3-10 :—

3. "And this will we choose for ourselves, O Mazda Ahura! O beautiful Asha! that we think, speak, and do them, namely those which are the best of all works for the world. 4. By reason of the rewards for these best works will we strive both learned and unlearned, rulers and servants, to give rest and fodder to the cattle. 5. Evermore will we, so far as in us lies, keep possession of and impart to others the rule of the best ruler and prepare it, namely, the rule of Mazda Ahura and Asha Vahishta. 6. And as any one knows clearly—be he man or woman—so shall he do for himself according to his best knowledge that which is good, and further teach it to those who should do it as the case may be. 7. Since we reckon as the best the paying of worship and homage to

[1] Compare the exhaustive monograph by Th. Baunack: Die drei wichtigsten Gebete . . . und das siebenteilige Gebet, in den Studien, von Joh. und Th. Baunack, Leipzic 1888, p 451.

Ahura Mazda and the feeding of the cattle. That will we do and further teach it as far as we are able. 8. And in the rule of Asha and amongst the people of Asha there is for every man the best life as reward in both worlds. 9. And these (Thy) revelations, O Ahura Mazda! will we further teach with the best thought of Asha and in thee[1] we possess the best receiver and teacher from the side of Asha and Vohu Manō and the good Khshathra and from Thyself, O Ahura, in consequence of his[1] hymns upon hymns, from Thyself, in consequence of his speeches upon speeches, from Thyself, in consequence of his offering upon offering."

HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE AWESTA.

§ 29. The existence of a sacred literature of Iran before the Sasanid era is abundantly attested by Western writers. It suffices to cull a few notices from their accounts.[2] Herodotus notes only that the Magians sang the Theogony on the occasion of their sacrifices.[3] Hermippus of Smyrna (3rd century B. C.) is the earliest writer who knew of the writings of Zoroaster. Hermippus wrote a book on the doctrines of the Magians which, according to Pliny, contained a statement of the contents of the two million verses which Zoroaster had composed.[4] Nikolaus of Damascus[5] and Dio Chrysostomus[6] speak of the λόγια of Zoroaster which the Persians revered as sacred. The latter adds that the Magians had learned them from Zoroaster. We learn from Strabo[7] and Pausanias[8], who report as eye-witnesses, that the Magians performed religious services in their fire-temples that lasted for hours, and that they read them from a book in a barbarous tongue. Philo of Byblus (about 80-130 A. D.) quotes a passage from a collection of the sacred writings of the Persians as the very words of Zoroaster, a philosophical poetical description of the Supreme God.

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[1] The Prophet Zarathushtra is meant.

[2] Compare the collections in KLEUKER, Supplement II, part 1, pp. 5 *seq.*—RAPP, Die Religion and Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen, Z.D.M.G. 19, 1 *seq.* Compare especially p. 35.—DUNCKER, Geschichte, pp. 40 *seq.* Ed. Meyer, Geschichte, p. 504.

[3] Herodotus I., 132.

[4] Plinius, Hist. Nat. 30, 2; compare also Diog. Laert., De vita philos. proœm VI.

[5] Kleuker, p. 8.

[6] Dio Chrys. ed. Dind. 2, 60.

[7] Strabo XV., 733.

[8] Pausan. 5, 27, 3.

He adds that Ostanes says the same in his Oktateuch.[1] Eusebius in the first century of the Sasanid dynasty speaks of a collection of sacred writings in which Zoroaster is represented as speaking.[2] Among later Arabian writers the notice given by Tabari is interesting, namely, that Zoroaster's writings covered 12,000 cow hides.[3]

§ 30. More valuable are the notices that come from the home of the Awesta, those given in the Pahlavi literature. The Dīnkard has preserved the quintessence of the Parsi tradition in the two-fold account, which it contains.[4] The one account in the last chapter of the third book[5] asserts that the work before it, was based on the sacred revelation which Zoroaster imparted to his first disciple in answer to his questions. King Vishtāsp, it says, had written down the original teaching, had deposited the original MS. in the royal treasury, and a copy of it in the archives, and had put further copies into circulation. When the great calamity of Alexander's usurpation came upon the monarchy the one copy was burned, the other fell into the hands of the Greeks and was translated by them into Greek. When King Ardashīr, the son of Pāpak, restored the monarchy in Iran, he caused the scattered copies to be collected. At his order, his high priest Tansar completed and published (or explained?) this collection[6], and thus gave "a faithful reproduction of

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[1] Philonis Bybl. frag. 9 in Müller III., 573, 9.

[2] Euseb. praep. ev. 1, 10.

[3] Hyde (1700) p. 314, (1760) p. 318. According to Masudi also there were 12,000 cow hides, Duncker, p. 40.

[4] HAUG, Essay on Pahlavi (in the Pahlavi-Pazend Glossary, Bombay 1870) pp. 145 *seq.*; HAUG, Zend-Pahlavi Glossary, Introd. p. xxxvi; West, SBE. XXXVII., Pref. xxx., and p. 412; DARMESTETER III., XXI, and SBE. IV., Introd xxxii.

[5] This account is published by HAUG in Zand-Pahlavi Gl. XXXI.; the second by HAUG in his Essay on Pahlavi, p. 149.

[6] WEST translates this important passage thus:—"And that Artakhshatar, king of kings, who was son of Pāpak, came for the restoration of the monarchy of Irān, and the same scripture was brought from a *scattered state to one place.* The righteous Tōsar of the primitive faith, who was the priest of priests, appeared with an *exposition recovered from the Avesta*, and was ordered to *complete the scripture* from that exposition," &c. DARMESTETER, on the other hand, paraphrases it thus: "Quand Artakhshatr, Roi des Rois, fils de Pāpak, vint restaurer l'empire d'Iran, il réunit en un seul lieu toutes les écritures dispersées; et le Herbed des Herbeds, le saint Tansar, le Pōryōtkēsh, vint et incorpora une révélation de l'Avesta; et en donnant cette révélation au complet, il donna une image exacte," etc. The question is just what we are to understand by the Pahlavi *padtākīh*, which HAUG translates by "publication," WEST by "exposition," and DARMESTETER by "révélation."

the original light" Ardashīr also caused one copy to be preserved in the treasury and other copies to be distributed.

Still fuller is the second account given in the fourth book of the Dīnkard. King Vishtāsp, after his campaign against Arjāsp, had the scriptures of the Mazdayasna-religion collected. Dārā, the son of Dārā,[1] gave orders that the whole of the Awesta, with its explanation, should be preserved in two copies, the one in the treasury, the other in the Archives. Valkhash (Vologeses), the son of Ashkān, organized the careful collection and transcription from original sources of the entire Awesta so far as it had descended pure to that time, all of it that had been preserved in Iran, handed down in writing or by oral tradition, in a fragmentary state since the invasion of Alexander. Ardashīr, the son of Pāpak, invited Tansar to his court and had the scattered original documents of the religion collected by him. He imparted canonical validity to his collection by proscribing as contrary to the religion all doctrines which did not proceed in this way direct from Tansar.[2] Ardashir's son Shāhpūhr caused all the non-religious writings on astronomy, medicine, mathematics, and philosophy which were scattered in India, Greece and elsewhere to be collected and added to the Awesta, and a correct copy of both writings to be deposited in the treasury. Under King Shāhpūhr, son of Aūharmazd, a tribunal was summoned to investigate the religious controversies in the land. Before this tribunal Ādarpād submitted to the fire-ordeal (probably on behalf of the Awesta as restored to its pure form by him). He fixed the numbering of the Nasks, and the king declared that from henceforth, now that the true religion stood visible before men's eyes, he would no longer tolerate any false religion.

According to another passage in the Dīnkard, King Khosrau Parviz caused a new interpretation of the Awesta and Zend to be prepared by the most intelligent of the priests.[3]

Another Pahlavi book, the Ardā Virāf, relates in the introduction that the religion which Zoroaster had founded flourished in its purity for

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[1] According to Bundahish 34, 8, the last Darius is meant.

[2] WEST read formerly "Tōsar," DARMESTETER reads "Tansar." With reference to an interesting letter of this Herbad, cf. DARMESTETER III., xxvii, ; J.R.A.S. 1894, pp. 200, 502.

[3] HAUG, Essay on Pahlavi, p. 147.

300 years till Alexander burned the entire Awesta, which, written with golden ink upon cow-skin (parchment), was preserved in the archives at Persepolis. Thereafter anarchy in things secular and religious, unbelief, sectarianism and ignorance of religion reigned in the land, and diverse books of the law were current up to the time of the holy Ādarpād, son of Mahraspand, who subjected himself to the ordeal of fire.[1] The introduction to the Persian translation of the Ardā Virāf supplements the account of King Ardashīr by the statement that he summoned all the Dasturs and Mobeds, who assembled to the number of 40,000. He caused this great multitude to be continually sifted in order to discover which of them remembered most of the Awesta. At last only 40 remained, who had by heart the entire Awesta together with its interpretation. From among these he chose the seven who had the highest moral character.[2]

§ 31. When we set aside all the embellishments which we find in these narratives, which to some extent have an unhistorical ring, there remains, as the kernel of the tradition, the following:—the existence of a religious book, an edited collection of sacred books before the time of Alexander, the decay and scattering of this collection after the time of Alexander, a first regathering of these writings under a certain Vologeses, a new edition of the Awesta under Ardashīr Pāpakān (A. D. 226-240) by Tansar, a supplementary selection under Shāhpūhr I. (240-271), a final revision by Ādarpād, and a proclamation of the sacred canon under Shāhpūhr II. (310-379), and a remodelling of the Pahlavi translation under Khosrau I. (531-579).

Which of the five Vologeses is intended is quite uncertain. Darmesteter conjectures that it was the most celebrated, Vologeses I., the contemporary of Nero, because Western historians bear testimony to the pronounced Zoroastrianism of his relations.[3] But in all probability the later Vologeses were not less good Zoroastrians. From the middle of the first century A. D. the Greek influence in Parthia was in decay and nationalism in steady rise. From the time of Mithradates VI., the contemporary of Trajan, Pahlavi inscriptions preponderate on the coins.[4] It would thus be more natural to identify Valkhash with one

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[1] Ardā Virāf I, 1-16.

[2] Haug, Introductory Essay to AV., p. xv.

[3] Darmesteter, SBE. IV. p. xxxiv, and Le Zend-Avesta, III., xxiii.

[4] Gutschmid in Encyclopædia Britannica, XVIII. 601.

of the later Vologeses, and to place the first attempts directed towards the collection and preservation of the sacred writings, as precursors of the proper national religious revival under Ardashīr, in closer connection in point of time with the latter. Vologeses III. might be thought of, whose long reign (148-191) was conspicuously peaceful in its internal affairs.

§ 32. Individual features in the domestic traditions may, as we have said, appear unhistorical or doubtful. The fanaticism of the priesthood ascribes immediately to Alexander the destruction of the sacred writings, whereas the neglect and partial loss of them was only a consequence of that religious and national decline which began with Alexander. The fact, however, remains that Alexander caused the royal fort in Persepolis to be burnt down (Diodor. 17, 72 ; Curtius 5, 7.) But the kernel of the Parsi tradition, regarding the history of the Awesta, seems thoroughly trustworthy. Its accounts disguise nothing, spare nothing. They confess, without reserve, that the Awesta of the Sasanids is no longer the ancient book. Another passage in the Dīnkard says that all that could be discovered of the Awesta was not more than a single priest could conveniently carry in his head.[1] And, in the second place, the account given agrees admirably with the structure of our Awesta, the disproportioned, unequal, and, in certain places, fragmentary character[2] of the book. In point of language three classes of texts can be distinguished. In many portions the grammar is still handled with great certainty and correctness,[3] in others loosely and uncertainly,[4] and again other portions are in language and grammar quite barbarous.[5] Such barbarism cannot be explained as corruptions resulting from careless tradition, because all the three classes of passages occur in the same book and the tradition is of the same kind throughout and, where the old MSS. are extant, it is on the whole very faithful. In a case in which we have to deal with the internal chronology of writings which are composed in a dead language, the language itself is a criterion which is not to be altogether rejected.

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[1] Dinkard 8, 1, 21.

[2] It is sufficient to point to Vendidad 4, beginning and end, to Vendidad 22 where the conclusion is quite clearly lost.

[3] For example, Yasna 9, 1-15.

[4] For example, Vend. 1. 2. 1—5 ; Yas. 60, 11.

[5] For example, Yasht 15, 48, 57 ; 10, 120 ; 2, 11 ; Yas. 23, 3 ; 68, 14.

We cannot, therefore, do better than adapt, as far as possible, our view of the Awesta to this Parsi tradition, which is both trustworthy in itself and in good agreement with the facts. The Awĕsta with the 21 nasks, of which we now possess only a fragment, is a work of the Sasanian epoch, the result of the labours of the collectors and editors (*diaskeuasts*) under King Ardashīr with Tansar at their head. The way had been prepared by a more ancient collection of sacred texts which took place under a certain Vologeses. The text received its final form probably through the revision of Ādarpād Mahraspand. The editing of the Khorda Awesta is specially ascribed to this Ādarpād.

This Sasanid[1] origin of the Awesta is, however, to be understood in this sense that the *diaskeuasts* or editors composed a new canon out of remains and fragments which were still extant. They constructed a new building with old materials. It is impossible to determine, in regard to the whole or individual parts, what they found extant, or what new additions they made, how far they reproduced literally what they found or remodelled it. We may credit the *diaskeuasts* with having fabricated not only the outward framework of many chapters and various connecting passages and supplements which the transformation of a number of fragments into one book rendered necessary, but also the formulæ and typical portions according to extant patterns as they found necessary. The completing of the Awesta, of which the account given in the Dīnkard speaks, consisted of work of this nature. These formal portions belong in respect of language chiefly to the second or third class of texts above distinguished. The parts of the Awesta which contain the real substance of the work, especially the Gathas and the central portion of the great and middle Yashts, might have been found by the first collectors in the form in which they have reproduced them. I have a less unfavourable opinion than West of the amount of learning possessed by the *diaskeuasts* and of their knowledge of the sacred language, but I agree with him in essentials when he expresses the following view :—"How far they (the learned men of the Sasanids) may have been able to write ordinary Awesta text is more uncertain, but any such writing was probably confined to a few phrases for uniting the fragments of old Awesta which they discovered, or for interpolating opinions of their own." — "That the Awesta texts

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1 Ed. Meyer in his Geschichte, p. 503, has expressed this most clearly.

themselves were not written, to any great extent, in the Sasanian times, is shown by the quantity of Pahlavi commentary necessary to adapt them to the altered circumstances of those times."[1]

Especially would I claim the metrical portions in their entirety for the more ancient and truly creative period as against the later period of imitation and restoration, of course, without excluding later imitations of these. Except in the case of the Gathas the learned men of the Sasanids had already lost all consciousness of having to do with metrical composition. Especially in the Vendidad the smaller metrical pieces stand out conspicuously from their surroundings and accordingly look as if they had been found as fragments by some later compiler and had been stuck by him at suitable points into his own monotonous composition and compilation. I refer especially to the interesting third fargard of the Vendidad. The fargard begins in the dry pedantic doctrinal style which is peculiar to the Vendidad. But from para. 24 onwards this is interrupted by a vivid spirited description of agriculture. The fruitful earth waiting cultivation is compared to a young bride, and almost the entire piece is metrical. Often, however, even in ancient contexts metre and prose may have been intermingled.

From what has been said it is clear that criticism would set up for itself an impossible goal if it aimed at paring down the extant Awesta until it arrived at so-called original Awesta, a pre-Sasanid Awesta. Old and new have been fused together in the book into an indissoluble unity. Critical efforts in this direction are as uncertain as in the Vedic field and lead only to the purest subjectivity.[2]

§ 33. In like manner, it follows from what has been said that the question as to a definite age of the Awesta texts has been entirely

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[1] West, SBE. XXXVII, Pref. XLII.

[2] Any one who possesses a special taste for such textual criticism will still easily detect the hand of the interpolator in many passages, for example, when the text in Yas. 57, 14 thus runs :—

dūrāt̠ hača ahmāt̠ nmānāt̠
dūrāt̠ hača ainghāt̠ visat̠
dūrāt̠ hača ahmāt̠ zantaot̠
dūrāt̠ hača ainghāt daínghaot̠
ayāo ithyejāo rōiynāo yeinti
yenghe nmānaya sraošō ašyō verethrajāo, etc.

wrongly stated.[1] The few chronological data which the Awesta itself offers have only a relative evidential value. Thus *Kərəsāni* in Yas. 9, 24 is represented in the Pahlavi translation by *Kilisyāk*. Darmesteter refers this to Alexander.[2] Assuming the correctness of Darmesteter's identification, no one could accept this passage as a proof of the post-Alexandrian origin of the entire Awesta.[3] It would only prove that also after the time of Alexander writings were composed in Awesta, that Alexander is not to be associated with any interruption in literary production, that he does not mark the beginning of an interval destitute of literature. The latter supposition is in itself quite improbable according to Western accounts.

The period of the composition of the Awesta texts extends downwards to King Shāhpūhr II., backwards probably to the earliest times of the Zoroastrian Church. The earliest gems of the whole literature are to be conceived of after the analogy of Buddhistic and Christian sacred literature. Sayings and speeches (sermons) which tradition put into the mouth of the great prophet were first formulated and propagated in the priestly circles. Of this most ancient tradition only the Gathas have been preserved. In order to reach an approximate upper limit of time, it would be, above all, necessary to attain certainty and agreement as to the age of Zoroaster himself by whose historical personality I am disposed to stand fast. As against the extravagant

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Here from the occurrence of *nmānaya* in the latter part it might be conjectured that originally in the former part only *nmāna* was mentioned and that a later hand had spun out the first verse after the well-known model (*vīs, zantu, dainghu*). But appearances may also deceive. I give up my own earlier attempts in this direction as failures.

[1] Compare with reference to this question as to age, especially DE HARLEZ, Introduction 192 : Das Alter und die Heimat des Avesta in BB. 12, 109 ; DUNCKER, Ueber die Zeit der Abfassung des Avesta, in the Monatsberichten der Kgl. Pr. Akademie der Wiss., zu Berlin 1877, pp. 517-27 (DUNCKER places the Awesta between 800 and 600 B. C. ;) SPIEGEL, Ueber das Vaterland and Zeitalter des Awesta, Z.D.M.G. 35, 629 ; 41, 280 ; GEIGER, Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awesta und seiner Kultur, in the Sitzungsberichten, der philos. philol. Klasse der b. Akademie, zu München 1884, pp. 315 *seq.*, English Translation by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Vol. II, pp. 85-164, London 1886.

[2] DARMESTETER I, 80 ; III, XXXVIII. With reference to this passage compare also A. WEBER in the Ind. Str. 2, 429. Weber tries to see another allusion to Alexander in Yasht 19, 43, cf. A. WEBER, Die Griechen in Indien (Sitzungsberichte der K. Pr. Akademie der Wiss., zu Berlin 1890, p. 7 of the separately printed report.)

[3] Not of course for the post-Alexandrian origin of the entire Hōm-Yasht since this does not present any such unity as the other Yashts. *Cf.* WEST in J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 660.

chronology into which the Greeks fell,[1] the indigenous notes of time confine themselves within much more moderate bounds. Floigl, for example, rightly endeavours to vindicate the Parsi tradition also in this point as the more trustworthy. According to the Ardā Vīrāf (*cf.* § 30) Zoroaster taught about 300 years before the time of Alexander, according to the Bundahish (34, 8) 258 years before the collapse of the Achämenian dynasty. Zoroaster would accordingly be a contemporary of Cyrus and Vīshtāspa of the Awesta identical with the historical Hystaspes.[2] What the later Awesta relates of Vīshtāspa is East Iranian legend which from a kind of teleological conception of history connected Vīshtāspa immediately with the Kayānian dynasty.

Accordingly 560 B.C. and 379 A.D. would be the extreme limits of the period within which the history of the development of the Awesta falls.[3] The Achämenian, Arsacid and Sasanid epochs have probably an equal claim to the book. But no sure criterion has yet been discovered by which we can distinguish these periods within the Awesta itself. According to tradition the unity of the canon was lost during the Arsacid period down to a certain Vologeses. This does not exclude the possibility of many of our texts having been remodelled according to extant patterns during this epoch, while during the same period much of the old passed into oblivion.[4]

§ 34. Just as little are we entitled to speak of a distinct home of the Awesta or of a separate Awesta-people within Iran and a well-marked-off homogeneous period of civilization represented by it.[5]

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[1] *Cf.* Rapp in Z.D.M.G. 19, 25.

[2] Victor Floigl, Cyrus und Herodot, nach den neugefundenen Keilinschriften, Leipzig 1881, p. 18. Compare also E. Röth, Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie, I, p. 376.

[3] This estimate agrees substantially with the view of de Harlez : On a donc tout lieu de croire que la majeure partie de l'Avesta a été composée pendant les cinq derniers siècles de l'ère ancienne, Intr. CXCIV.

[4] Compare also Bréal, Sur la composition des livres Zends, in his Mélanges de Mythologie et de Linguistique, Paris 1877, pp. 207—215.

[5] The ideas and circumstances of the Iranian civilization as these appear in the Awesta, together with the geography of the Awesta, have been collected in a summary by W. Geiger, Ostirānische Kultur im Alterthum, Erlangen 1882 ; English Translation by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times", London 1885. Compare also W. Geiger, Le pays du peuple de l'Avesta dans ses conditions physiques in Le Muséon, 1883, p. 84. On the calendar of the Awesta compare V. Gutschmid, Ber. sächs. Ges. 1862 ; Bezzenberger, G N., 1878, p. 251 ; Roth,

The geography[1] of the Awesta which in part is legendary, points to the East as well as to the North-West, it gravitates, however, towards the East. The sea of Urumia (*Čaečasta*) points to the West and *Airyanəm Vaējō* (the later Arrān between Kur and Aras[2]) to the extreme North-West, to North Media and Hyrcania Ragha, Demavend (*Arəzūra*), Alborz (*Hara-bərəzaiti*). On the other hand, the Iranian legend of the kings has for the most part its scenes laid in the East; the home-land of the Kayānians is placed in Seistān.[3] The mountains in Seistān (*Ušidarəna*), the Parapanisos (*Upāirisaēna*) and Hindukūsh (*Hindava gairi*, Yasht 8, 32) are well-known. Yasht 19, 66 gives a poetical delineation of Seistān, a vivid description of the Hélmend river (*Haētumant*) and its tributaries.[4] The *Kāsava* Lake, situated in Seistān, plays a great rôle in story and legend. In a similarly metrical passage (Yasht 10, 13) the homeland of the Aryans is described and there the regions named are almost entirely those of East Iran. In respect of climate the purifying beneficent effect of the south-wind is to be noted (Vend. 3, 42; Āfrīng.-Rap. 6).

§ 35. Nor can the language be adduced as an evidence in favour of either a narrower home or a definite period for the origin of the Awesta, even if we possessed stronger evidence than mere conjectures with regard to the original home of the Iranian dialect.[5] The language in which the oldest religious records of the Zoroastrian faith are composed, or a somewhat more modern development of it, remained the standard for all succeeding time as the sacred language of the

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Z.D.M.G. 34, 698; SPIEGEL, Z.D.M.G. 35, 642; 38, 433; DE HARLEZ, Le calendrier avestique et le pays originaire de l'Awesta, Louvain 1882; DARMESTETER I, 33 *seq.*

1 The well-known list of countries in the first fargard of the Vendidad gave rise to repeated discussions; on this see LASSEN, I. A.² I, 635 n.; HAUG in BUNSEN: Egyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte V, II. p. 104; KIEPERT: Ueber die geographische Anordnung der Namen arischer Landschaften im ersten Fargard des Vendidad, Monatsber. der K. Pr. AK. d. W. 1856, p. 621; SPIEGEL: Das erste Kapitel des Vendidad, München G. Anz. 1859, No. 43-46; BREAL, De la Géographie de l'Avesta, in Melanges de Mythologie, etc., pp. 187-199; ED. MEYER Geschichte p. 527. Compare also RAPP in Z.D.M.G. 19, 3.

2 See SPIEGEL, Commentar zum Awesta I, p. 10; FLOIGL, at the place quoted, p. 16; DARMESTETER II, 5 n.

3 Yasht 19, 65 *seq.*

4 *Cf.* A. STEIN; "Afghānistān in Avestic Geography" in the *Academy*, 16 May, 1885.

5 Its origin is usually placed in Bactria and it is called "Bactrian" or "Old Bactrian." DARMESTETER formerly regarded it as Median, Et. Ir. I, 10, but now hesitates between Media and Arachosia III, XC.

priests and became international within the boundaries of Iran. In this language men could teach, write and compose wherever an abode of priestly learning existed, and it was once understood as far as the Mazda-worship extended. It was thus to a certain degree raised above the limits of space and time. Taught and learned as a sacred language it would continue to lead an artificial life long after it had died out of the mouths of the people.[1] It is to be placed side by side with the other artificially preserved "dead" languages, the Latin of the middle ages, the Hebrew of the Rabbinical schools and the Sanskrit of the Brahmanical schools. It is also natural that the knowledge of these Church languages should have gradually diminished, dried up and ultimately died out. We expressed our belief above that only from this latter point of view are we justified in taking the language of the Awesta as a criterion for the relative chronology of the different kinds of texts.[2]

§ 36. Darmesteter's Theory.—The latest hypothesis[3] of Darmesteter is much more radical than the view advanced above in § 33. According to him the entire body of the sacred writings, if indeed the Achämenian period possessed such, was lost after Alexander's invasion of Persia and under Greek rule.[4] The reformation which began under King Vologeses I (§ 31) produced in reality an entirely new book. As regards the subject-matter Darmesteter distinguishes two strata, an ancient pre-Alexandrian and a modern post-Alexandrian stratum; but not a single page of the old Awesta has been literally reproduced in the new.[5] The Gathas are a type of the second class, the law sections of the Vendidad proper are a type of the first.[6] The Gathas were written in the middle of the first century of our era, and, indeed, under the influence of Gnosticism.[7] The idea of Vohu Manō, which plays the chief rôle in the Gathas, is probably borrowed from the School of Philo Judæus or employed in imitation of that School.[8]

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1 Compare the excellent remarks of Ed. Meyer, Geschichte, p. 504.

2 This of course assumes a most intimate acquaintance with the texts.

3 Darmesteter III, LII. *seq.*, LXXXV *seq.*; *cf.* West in J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 654.

4 Darmesteter III, XCVII.

5 *Ibid* III, XCI.

6 *Ibid* LXXXVI.

7 *Ibid* LVI.

8 *Ibid* LVI, LXXXVIII.

This is not the place to subject to a thorough criticism this revolutionary hypothesis of Darmesteter. Further investigation as to whether any other points of contact can be found between the Gathas and Gnosticism is necessary. To me the two appear to be otherwise *toto coelo* distinct from each other. A certain resemblance between the *Vohu mano* and the λόγος θεῖος of Philo must be admitted. The fact that Strabo (p. 512) bears witness to the worship of the Persian divinity 'Ωμανοῦ (*i.e.* Vohu-Manō)[1] and to having himself seen solemn processions of the image[2] of Omanos (p. 733) is sufficient to disprove the theory that *Vohu Manō* was borrowed from Philo. In the time of Strabo the original abstraction of *Vohu Manō* had already been completely anthropomorphized. Strabo travelled over Western Asia before 29 B. C.; Philo was not born before 20 B. C. If now Darmesteter (p. lxxxviii.) says that *Xšathrəm Vairīm* only came into existence through the Gathas, the same must hold also of the Mazdayasnian *Vohu Manō*. The Gathas must thus have arisen distinctly before the time of Strabo. If an analogy between the λόγος θεῖος and the *Vohu Manō* really exists, so striking that the borrowing on one side is probable, even if it be only of individual features, then Philo, whose doctrine is a loose tissue full of contradictions, must have been the borrower.[3]

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[1] As Ahuramazda = 'Ωρομάζης. This identification, from which all doubt is excluded, was made by HAUG-WEST, Essays, p. 10, and ED. MEYER, p. 532.

[2] Vend. 19, 20-25, seems also to allude to such an image of Vohu Manō.

[3] A. GFRÖRER, Philo. und die alexandrinische Theosophie, Stuttgart, 1831, II., p. 1. " Philo did not create his system, but reared it out of the materials of his time," *ib.* 3.—KLEUKER gives a passing judgment with regard to this Gnosticism : " Oriental cosmogonies and the doctrine of spirits was their favourite subject and the basis of their entire Gnosis. " Anhang zum Z. A. II., 1, p. 12. At any rate, the completed system of the Amesha Spenta with *Vohu Manō* and *Ašəm*, the old *ṛtam*, does not look like a stranger in the Mazda-religion.—DARMESTETER (III., LXV.) is perfectly right in holding that Plutarch in the famous passage with regard to the Ameshapands in de Is. et Os. 47, has not made use of Theopompus. The only question is as to the other writer, except Theopompus, who was his authority.—As a proof of the Arsacid origin of the Awesta DARMESTETER (III., XL.) adduces the well-known territorial distribution, which beginning with *nmāna*, ends with *dainghu* the province or country. There is wanting, he points out, the kingdom with the Shāhinshāh at its head (III., XL.). But in Yasht 10, 87 ; Yasna 62, 5 ; 68, 5 over the *dahyu* stands the *dainghusasti*, *i. e.*, the kingdom, the imperium, and thus Darmesteter explains also in I., 388, note 20.—DARMESTETER'S conjecture that the chronological principle of arrangement in the Yashts is borrowed from the Bible can scarcely be considered probable (III., XCII.)—According to PAULUS CASSEL : Zoroaster, sein Name und seine Zeit, Berlin 1886, also the name Zoroaster is to be explained as Jewish = son of the stars.

THE HISTORY OF AWESTA RESEARCH.

§ 37. The fame of having been always the first in Awesta research belongs to France. The three names, Anquetil, Burnouf, Darmesteter, mark each a new epoch. Long before the time of Anquetil individual travellers and English officers had drawn attention to the sacred books of their faith which the Parsis kept secret—the Zendawesta—as, for example, Henry Lord,[1] Gabr. de Chinon,[2] Chardin.[3] But none of these succeeded in turning the attention of learned Europe to them and awakening an abiding interest in them. The first to attempt to explore the doctrine of the Magi by means of the Oriental, *i.e.*, Arabic and later Persian, sources accessible to him was the celebrated Oxford scholar, Thomas Hyde.[4] The Awesta itself, of which at that time already a number of MSS. were in England, remained to him a closed book, in spite of all his efforts to decipher it. The French Orientalist, Anquetil-Duperron, found himself dissatisfied and at the same time powerfully attracted by Hyde's researches. The repeated and fruitless attempts of Englishmen to penetrate the secret of these books, especially those of George Bourchier and Frazer who brought new MSS. to England, stirred the knightly Frenchman, who was as ambitious as he was eager for knowledge, to try to find himself the key to these books. An accident brought to a head his resolve to make a journey to India in order to learn the language of these books on the spot from the Parsi priests. In the year 1754 he had chanced to see in Paris some passages of the Oxford Vendidad Sade, then still chained up[5] and hid from knowledge. "In that moment," he writes, "I resolved to enrich my fatherland with this rare treasure. I dared to contemplate a translation of it, and resolved to this end to

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[1] HENRY LORD, The Religion of the Parsis, 1630, p. 31. HENRY LORD was pastor of the English Church in Surat.—BRISSON, whose learned work on Persia (De regio Persarum principatu libri tres. Paris, 1590) is based upon the Western historians of antiquity, could have known nothing of the Zendawesta, since he himself was never in the East. The best information regarding the early history of Awesta research is to be found in KLEUKER, Anhang II, 1, pp. 35 *seq.*; further in HOVELACQUE, L'Avesta, pp. 3 *seq.*; DARMESTETER I., IX; WEST, Essays, pp. 16 *seq.*

[2] KLEUKER, in the place quoted, p. 38. [3] *Ibid.* p. 40.

[4] HYDE, Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religio, also under the title: Historia Religionis veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum. Zoroastris vita etc., Oxonii, 1700. Cf. especially Chap. XXVI, pp. 337-342.

[5] ANQUETIL I., 1, p. 458.

learn the ancient Persian language in Guzarat or Kirman."[1] Without means as he was, but too impatient to await the expected support of the Academy, he entered straightway the service of the Indian Company as a private soldier. He sailed on the 7th February 1755, landed at Pondicherry on the 10th August, and in 1758 after many adventures arrived in Surat, where he remained till 1761. The result of his sojourn in India, of which his narrative reads almost like a novel,[2] is preserved in his chief work: Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre.[3]

Although variously criticised[4] at the time of its appearance, the work made a great stir in the whole learned world. Anquetil's translation of the Awesta rests on the foundation of the inadequate knowledge of Pahlavi and the still more inadequate knowledge of Awesta possessed by his teacher, Dastur Dārāb in Surat, whom he may often enough have failed to understand correctly. He was able, however, by the aid of his own lively imaginative faculty to get over these deficiencies. He did not make his way far into the knowledge of the original language. It would be an easy task at this time of day to pull to pieces his translation in detail and to prove its uselessness. But, on the whole, he reproduces the spirit and the ideas of the book correctly. And his learned supplementary contributions and notes, his description of the Parsi ritual, all based upon conscientious personal observation, oral Parsi tradition, and personal study, are full of instruction to-day and in their completeness unequalled.

§ 38. The succeeding period was occupied in the first instance not so much with the question as to the trustworthiness and correctness of Anquetil's translation as with that of the genuineness of the Awesta and the "Zend language." The discussion turned upon the question whether the book was in fact the ancient religious book of Zoroaster, and its language a language of the ancient Persian kingdom, or whether it was a dialect of Sanskrit, and the whole thing a modern fabrication. This controversy lasted for more than 50 years, and did not advance

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1 Anquetil I. 1, 6.

2 *Ibid.* I. 1, XXI—CCCCXXXVIII, also separately translated into German: Anquetils du Perron Reisen nach Ostindien nebst einer Beschreibung der bürgerlichen und Religionsgebräuche der Parsen, als eine Einleitung zum Zend-Awesta in das Deutsche übersetzt von JOH. GEORG PURMANN, Frankfurt a. M. 1776.

3 Title and contents given under "General Literature" at the beginning.

4 *Cf.* Darmesteter I., XIII.

the knowledge of the original a single step. During all this time Anquetil's work remained the source and, for those who were convinced, the only authority. The Englishmen, Jones [1] and Richardson,[2] and the German Meiners,[3] were the chief opponents of the genuineness of the book; the champions of the theory that "Zend" is to be derived from Sanskrit were Jones[4] in one of his later writings, and especially John Leyden,[5] Erskine,[6] P. von Bohlen.[7] The defenders of Anquetil, on the other hand, were his German translator and editor Kleuker,[8] further Tychsen,[9] Paulinus a Santo Bartholomaeo,[10] and Rhode.[11] But no one prepared the way for the succeeding period more than the celebrated Danish philologist Rask. The fruit of the journey which he undertook by land to Persia and India, 1819-1822, was two-fold: the collection of the oldest and best Awesta MSS. which are preserved in the University Library at Copenhagen, and the pioneer-like brochure: "Om Zendsprogets og Zendavestas ælde og ægthed,"[12] in which "Zend" receives its proper place in the circle of the Persian languages, its relation to Sanskrit is defined, and at the same time its genuineness and that of the book finally demonstrated.

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[1] Lettre à M. Anquetil du Perron, dans laquelle est compris l'examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroaster, Londres s. a. (reprinted in the Works of Sir William Jones, Vol. X. p. 403, London, 1807.)

[2] A Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations, as Introduction to "A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic and English," Oxford, 1777.

[3] De Zoroastris vita, Institutis et Libris in " Novi Commentarii Societatis regiæ," Göttingen, 1777-79.

[4] Asiatick Researches II. p. 43. Calcutta 1790.

[5] Asiatic Researches X., 282.

[6] On the Sacred Books and Religion of the Parsis in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, 1819.

[7] Commentatio de Origine linguae zendicae e sanscrita repetendae Königsberg, 1831.

[8] *Cf.* the "General Literature" at the beginning.

[9] Commentatio prior Observationes Historico-criticas de Zoroastre ejusque scriptis et Placitis exhibens in: "Commentationes Soc. Reg." p. 112, Göttingen 1793.

[10] De antiquitate et affinitate linguae zendicae, samscredanicae et germanicae, Rome 1798.

[11] Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religionssystem der alten Baktrer, Meder und Perser oder des Zendvolks, Frankfurt 1820.

[12] Kopenhagen, 1826. Translated into German by F. H. v. d. HAGEN, under the title: "Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zendavesta" . . Berlin 1826. *Cf.* also the "Gesammelten Aufsätze" of RASK II., 310; 315. III. 4,

§ 39. The great Frenchman Eugène Burnouf established the systematic decipherment of the Awesta itself. If from the time of Anquetil scholars had only busied themselves with general ideas and had fought with great watchwords, Burnouf began the laborious, gradual investigation of the book in detail. He went back to the sources, to the MSS. lying unused in Paris since the time of Anquetil, and to the genuine domestic interpretation of the book. He sought, by a comparison of the MSS., to establish a reliable text, and based his interpretation, in the first instance, on Neriosangh's Sanskrit translation of the Awesta as the most ancient form of traditional Awesta interpretation available, at the same time bringing to light a Sanskrit translation hitherto known only by name. He follows it, however, by no means slavishly, but weighs it word by word and justifies or rejects it. Hand in hand with this proceeds the systematic examination of the texts, the collecting and sifting of the grammatical and lexical material of the language. Many of his points have remained incontrovertible. On the other hand, his labours in this field lack definiteness of conclusion. He was content to be the pioneer of the scientific method, and in his last years, before his premature death, he scarcely ever returned to this field of investigation.

Burnouf's researches are preserved in his great Commentary on the Yasna.[1] It suffers from its own peculiar cumbrousness. In the extensive quarto volume of the 72 chapters of the Yasna, only the first is explained. Of course side-lights are thrown in numerous excursus on many other passages and the general laws of the language are laid down. His later exposition of Yasna 9 is written under much stricter limitations.[2] Burnouf bestowed little attention on the Gathas, and with fine tact he has kept clear of those general questions which gather around the Awesta.

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[1] Commentaire sur le Yaçna, l'un des Livres Religieux des Parses. Ouvrage contenant le texte Zend expliqué pour la première fois, les variantes des quatre manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale et la version Sanscrite inédite de Nériosangh, Vol. I, Paris 1833-35—previously announced in Nouv. J.A., Vol. III., p. 321.

[2] Appeared in various essays in the J.A. 1844-46. These, together with other essays also published separately under the title : "Etudes sur la langue et sur les textes zends," Vol. I., Paris 1840-50. Burnouf's revised text and translation of Yasna 9 are published by BROCKHAUS in his edition of the Vendidad Sade, pp. 407 *seq.*

About the same time as Burnouf, but with much scantier apparatus and from a different standpoint, Fr. Bopp began to occupy himself with the Awesta. The first part of the first edition of Bopp's Comparative Grammar appeared almost contemporaneously with Burnouf's Commentary. In the later parts and in the second edition Bopp rests largely on Burnouf. While for Burnouf the explanation of the religious book was an end in itself, Bopp aims at making it subserve the purposes of his Comparative Grammar. He regards the interpretation of the book essentially as an exercise in Sanskrit Philology.[1] The comparison with Sanskrit decides matters essential for him. He has very little confidence in the translation of Neriosangh.[2] Between Burnouf and Bopp there is already latent the opposition which led to the later separation of the schools.

§ 40. Soon after the death of Burnouf (1852) two critical editions of the Awesta began to appear,—Westergaard's complete edition of the text, and the edition of the Vendidad, Vispered and Yasna with Pahlavi Translation by Spiegel,[3] the latter being also provided with a German translation of the entire Awesta. Now it was possible to go back to the oldest form of the vernacular interpretation of the Awesta. The apple of discord which long continued, was at the same time thrown into the science: "The Tradition," the value or worthlessness of the old Sasanid translation, the question as to whether there was really a genuine tradition, *i. e.*, a continuity of interpretation reaching back to the time of the composition of the Awesta, or whether this tradition was only an artificial reconstruction and subjective opinion of the ancient Parsi scholars, and not objective truth. The traditional and the anti-traditional schools from this time forward developed a pronounced antagonism. Spiegel[4] followed by Justi[5] was the chief advocate of

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[1] Preface to the first edition (p. X in the reprint in the 2nd Edition).

[2] *Ibid*, X, n.

[3] *Cf.* the literature given at § 11.

[4] F. Spiegel, Commentar über das Avesta, I Band, Der Vendidad. Leipzig 1864 II. Band, Vispered, Yaçna und Khorda Avesta, 1868. By the same author: Zur Interpretation des Vendidad, Leipzig 1853.—Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen, I Teil, Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache, Leipzig 1856; II Teil, Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen, 1860.—Burnouf's altbaktrische Forschungen und ihr Verhältniss zur Tradition in Kuhn's Beitr. 7, 257.—Arische Studien, Leipzig 1874.—Zur Erklärung des Awesta, Z.D.M.G. 25, 297; 26, 697; 27, 649. Zur Textkritik des Awesta, Z.D.M.G. 36, 586. Über d. 19 Farg. des Vend., Abhandl. der bair. Akad. Bd. VI—VII.

[5] Handbuch der Zendsprache, Leipzig 1864.

the genuineness and trustworthiness of tradition. According to them, the clue was to be found in tradition. Also Harlez[1] and Geiger[2] gave their adherence to this view although with much more moderation. Benfey[3] and especially Roth[4] accuse the tradition of manifold incoherence and inadequacy, and think that they are able to substitute for it a better and surer method of interpretation. Haug was in the beginning an enthusiastic follower of this latter view, but returned from India in part converted to the opposite views.[5] Windischmann took up an intermediate position between the two sets of views.[6]

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[1] C. DE HARLEZ : De l'exégèse et de la correction des textes avestiques, Leipzig 1883. — Etudes éraniennes, Paris 1880 (de l'alphabet avestique et de sa transcription. Métrique du Gatha Vahistoistis, etc.) — Études avestiques I. J.A. 1876, VIII, 487 : II. 1877, IX. 97 ; III *ib.*, 289. Z.D.M.G. 36, 627.—Zur Erklärung des Awesta, Z.D.M.G. 37, 256. — L'Avestique Mada et la tradition persane *ib.* 38, 133.—Avestica, etc., in B.B. 13, 245 ; 15, 317 ; 16, 338.—Un fragment d'un commentaire sur le Vendidad, J.A. 1881, XVIII, 517.—Un frag. du Com. de M. Darmesteter as supplement to J.A. 1881, XVIII (also Louvain 1881).—Les observations de M. James Darmesteter sur le Vendidad, Louvain 1883.

[2] W. GEIGER, Das dritte Kapitel des Vendidad, Z.D.M.G. 34, 415 *seq.*; *cf.* also Einleitung zum Aogemadaēcā, p. 3.

[3] Einige Beiträge zur Erklärung des Zend, Göttingen 1850. Weitere Beiträge zur Erklärung des Zend, Göttingen 1852-53 (both from the G.G.A.)

[4] R. ROTH, Ueber gelehrte Tradition im Alterthume, besonders in Indien, Z.D.M.G., 21, 1 (especially p. 8).—Beiträge zur Erklärung des Awesta I and II., Z.D.M.G. 25, 1 ; III, *ib.* 215.—Ueber Yaçna 31, Tübingen 1876.—Der Ahuna Vairya, Z.D.M.G. 38, 437.

[5] M. HAUG, Das erste Kapitel des Vendidad übers. und erläutert, bei BUNSEN, *vide* § 34.—Die fünf Gathas oder Sammlungen von Liedern und Sprüchen Zarathustra's, seiner Jünger und Nachfolger. Herausgegeben, uebersetzt und erläutert von M. Haug. 1. Abteilung : Die erste Sammlung (Gatha Ahunavaiti), Leipzig 1858. 2 Abteilung : Die vier übrigen Sammlungen, Leipzig 1860. (In den Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenländes). By the same author, Ueber die Unzverlässigkeit der Pahlaviübersetzung des Zendawesta in Z.D.M.G. 19, 578 *seq.*—Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Zend philologie, Stuttgart 1868.—Das achtzehnte Kapitel des Wendidad übersetzt und erklart, in den Sitzungsberichten der K. bay, Akademie der Wiss. zu München, Jahrgang 1868, Bd. II. (seperate reprint : München 1869)—Die Ahuna-vairya-Formel, das heiligste Gebet der Zoroastier, mit dem alten Zend-Commentar (Yasna 19) in den Sitzungsberichten der K. bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, 1872, p. 89.

[6] Die persische Anahita oder Anaïtis. Ein Beitrag, zur Mythengeschichte des Orients von Fr. WINDISCHMANN. Abhandlungen der K. bayr. Akademie. d. W. I. Kl. VIII, Bd., 1, Abt., München 1856.—Mithra. Ein Beiträg zur Mythengeschichte des Orients, von Fr. WINDISCHMANN, Leipzig 1857. In the Abhandlungen zur Mythologie und Sagengeschichte des alten Iran, von F. W, published after the author's death by F. Spiegel. Berlin 1863.—WEBER is near the standpoint of Windischmann. *Cf.* Die Recensionen in den Indischen Streifen, Band 2, 421-493, especially p. 435.

§ 41. Roth was followed in essentials by those linguists who, after the death of Schleicher, returning to the example set by Bopp addressed themselves independently to the exegesis of the Awesta. A great deal of printer's ink was wasted over the question of transcription. The enduring contribution, however, of linguistic science is a solid scientific grammar of the Awesta language which no one can now ignore with impunity. The labours, especially of Hübschmann,[1] Bartholomae[2] and Joh. Schmidt,[3] contributed to this result. It must, however, be distinctly noted that in relation to the tradition-question Hübschmann represented an independent and, I may add, the only correct standpoint.

Roth's position was that, in the first instance, the Awesta should be explained from and by itself, by searching out and comparing parallel passages, similar grouping of words and related ideas, and in this respect he has gone deeper than those who depended absolutely on the tradition. It does not touch the kernel of the question when his method is simply called the method of etymology.[4] In the long run all have worked with etymology, some more, some less, but all too much. Roth availed himself of Sanskrit, the Sanskrit of the Vedas as the chief aid, the key to the solution of the problem. The dogma of the complete identity of Sanskrit and Awesta, in which the school of Roth was supposed to believe, existed only in the imagination of the traditionalists.[5]

The controversy with respect to the Pahlavi translation was conducted on both sides in too theoretical a manner and with insufficient materials. In particular points both sides have not by any means remained true to their leading principle. In practice the anti-traditionalists have not denied all rights to tradition; indeed many a time they have been able to secure justice for some misunderstood traditional interpretation.[6] As regards the Pahlavi translation for a long time

[1] Iranische Studien, in K.Z. 24, 323 and elsewhere *passim* in K. Z.

[2] Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekte, Leipzig 1883.

[3] Joh. Schmidt *passim* in K. Z.—Die Plural-bildungen der Indo-germanischen Neutra., Weimer 1889.

[4] Darmesteter I, XXVII; in another place: "l'école étymologique ou védisante."

[5] It is Roth who always seeks to deduce the specific meaning of the Awesta word, often, however, with insufficient means.

[6] *E. g.*, the *Hamestakān* souls in Y. 33,1; Bartholomae in Z.D.M.G. 35, 157, and Roth *ib.* 37, 223. (Contested by De Harlez Z.D.M.G., 36, 631; *cf.* also B.B, 9, 294). Even so *vyam* in Yas. 48, 7; *cf.* K.Z. 30, 532.

it was a question of simple faith or simple unbelief. Its opponents were not able to refute nor its followers to convince, because Pahlavi research was itself still in its infancy. The too exclusive trust in the help of Sanskrit, the depreciation of the Pahlavi translation, proved fatal to Roth and his school. On this rock all our labours finally come to shipwreck.

The last decade has brought about a complete revolution, both in the field of the Awesta and the Veda, in the views taken of the indigenous tradition, and has made converts or adherents of those who in the beginning were opponents. Although unanimity has not yet been reached, the practical result of the whole controversy may be reduced to this: the defenders of the native tradition had more right on their side in theory ; in method and in the practical carrying out of his principle, Roth was superior to his adversaries.

This revolution is the fruit essentially of the ever-growing study of Pahlavi. Haug's later labours were already devoted to Pahlavi, and proved fruitful. The real pioneer is E. W. West. His unequalled learning and accuracy have raised Pahlavi research from the lowest stage to that of a science, and to this extent West has become indirectly a reformer of Awesta research. It is Darmesteter who has, with equal sagacity and learning, made the right application of this knowledge to the advantage of the study of the Awesta. From the beginning a warm defender of the Sasanid translation, and possessed of a thorough knowledge of Pahlavi, he did not base his interpretation on this translation alone, but recognised that, in the midst of the controversy with regard to the best method, nothing but a comprehensive widening of our horizon would lead out of this fumbling and guessing to clearness and truth. His direct aids are the native traditions carefully utilized in detail and thoroughly studied as a whole—the entire body of learning accumulated in them. His indirect aids are the entire tradition from the Sasanid time to the present day, the entire Pahlavi and Pazend literature accessible to him, the Shāhnāme, the Arabian chroniciers, and the historical notices of ancient writers, the personal instruction received from living Parsis, their customs, views, the present ritual, which likewise is a piece of genuine tradition, and, on the side of language, the entire Iranian linguistic treasures in all stages of its development and dialectical ramifications, and also Sanskrit, especially Vedic Sanskrit[1]. The start and beginning had

[1] Darmesteter I, XLIII.

been made in each department before his time, although imperfectly and with insufficient aids; Darmesteter has gathered them together and developed them further to a certain definite result. The ripest fruit of these efforts is his latest monumental work : Le Zend Awesta[1]. Darmesteter has given a new youth to the traditional school, and is the proper creator of what he calls the historical method of Awesta research. Darmesteter has accumulated an enormous quantity of material for the interpretation of the Awesta. How far he has succeeded in this, how far he has shot beyond the mark in detail, the sequel will shew.

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(*b*) Particular contributions: PAUL DE LAGARDE, Beiträge zur baktrischen Lexikographie, Leipzig 1868.—Armenische Studien, Göttingen, 1877.—Persische Studien, Göttingen, 1884.

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[1] The title is given more exactly under "General Literature" at the beginning. The first volume contains the translation and explanation of the Yasna and Vispered, together with an introduction based on the historical method; the second, the Vendidad, the Yashts, and the Khorda Awesta; the third, the fragments, together with a literary and religious historical introduction. Cf., with reference to this work, WEST in the J. R. A. S. 1893, p. 654; BRÉAL, Le-Zend-Avesta, in the Journal des Savants, Dec. 1893, Jan. et Mars 1894.

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AIDS TO AWESTA RESEARCH AND ITS METHOD.

§ 42. THE PAHLAVI TRANSLATION.—At the time of the Dinkard there existed a translation or rather a commentary in Pahlavi to all the

Nasks, with the exception of the Nātar and the Vashtag Nask. Probably, the labours of the scholiasts went hand in hand with those of the *diaskeuasts* or editors of the texts, without, however, reaching definite completion contemporaneously with the revision of the Awesta under Ādarpād Mahraspand. The Pahlavi translation must have been again and again extended and supplemented after the time of Ādarpād.[1] The commentary to the Vendidad cannot have received its present form before 528 A. D., since it mentions, under Vend. 4, 49, the false teaching of Mazdak, the son of Bāmdād, who, in the year named, was condemned to death by King Khūsrōī Anōsharavān.

Only the Pahlavi translation of Yasna, Vispered and Vendidad, of the fragments of the Hāṭōkht Nask including the Srōsh Yasht, of Vīshtāsp Yasht, of Bahrām Yasht, and some smaller Yashts, namely Ormuzd, Haftān, Khūrshēd, and Māh Yasht, of Khūrshēd, Ātash and Ābān Nyāish, of the two Sīrōze and the Āfrīngān Dahmān, Gatha, Gahanbār, has been preserved[2]. The Pahlavi reproduction of the Nīrangistān (cf. § 10) is something intermediate between a commentary and an independent work. The Pahlavi translation is inseparable in the MSS. from the Awesta text. The Awesta text is distributed into longer or shorter passages, and the Pahlavi translation directly attached to each.

§ 43. The character of the Pahlavi translation is that of an interlinear version. It consists generally of the rendering of the text, word for word, by means of a Pahlavi equivalent in the exact order of the original. In this lies at once the strength and the weakness of this scholiast work. The full sense of the whole passage often cannot be brought out in this way. This was felt by the translator or translators themselves, and they have tried to keep out the interpretation by means of numerous interpolated and appended glosses. In these the translation given is re-written[3] according to the sense, supplemented or modified, and then attempts are made to render the sense and context of the whole clear, frequently the varying opinions of other teachers whose names are given are cited, and the interpretation established by quotations and all kinds of explanatory additions.

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[1] West, SBE., XXVII, p. XXXLII.

[2] West, Essays, p. 98.

[3] Like the Sanskrit *ity arthaḥ, ity etat, iti bhāvaḥ.*

Often the glosses extend to long learned disquisitions. Sometimes the translator excuses himself by saying that of some particular passage no interpretation has been handed down, and leaves the passage unexplained, for example, in Yas. 10, 11. This is of great importance for an estimate of the value of his work.

§ 44. SAMPLE OF PAHLAVI TRANSLATION.—From Vendidad 1, 1 (the words of the translation proper are in italics): 1, 1. *There spake Auharmazd to Spitāmān Zaratūsht: I created, Spitāmān Zaratūsht, the place for a joy-creation, where no pleasantness is sought.* This means: that man considers the place where he is born, where he is brought up, to be beautiful, *i.e.*, the best and most pleasant that I have created. *Since if I had not created, O Spitāmān Zaratūsht, the place for a joy-creation, where no pleasantness is sought, then would the whole corporeal world have wandered away to Aīrān Vēj.* They would have failed in this attempt, since it would not have been possible for them to migrate, for it is not possible to go from one part of the earth to another without the help of the angels. Some say that it is also possible with the help of the devils.

Yasna 56, 1-2.—*Attention must here be given to the offering of Auharmazd, i. e.,* may come to it, *Who desires good deeds, He the holy Auharmazd Who desires our happiness. As at the first* I was meditating on this liturgy, *so also at the last,* so meditating will I perform its close. *Here shall it be so.*[1] 2. *Attention must here be given to the offering of the good waters and the holy Ferver who desire the happiness of our souls. As at the first so at the last* shall we perform its close.[2] The *attending here is* happiness *at the offering of the good waters and the holy Ferver who desire the happiness of our souls.*

§ 45. Sometimes, however, the translation is freer; several words of the original text are gathered together and reproduced by a single word. Thus in Yas. 10, 13 the words *usnām* and *vaēdhya* are combined and represented by *xūrsandih* "contentment," which is quite correct, since they signify: "fulfilment of the desires." In other cases the simple *usan* (neutr. = desire, pleasure) is reproduced by *xūrsand* (Y. 44, 10) or *xūrsandih* (45, 9).[3] In Vend. 22, 7: *para-dīdhi upa*

[1] The conclusion of 56, 1, is not translated, as being a repetition.

[2] These words have in the MSS. found their way into the following clause.

[3] We have a converse case in Yas. 56, 3, where *ərənavataēcā* is reproduced by *farsakāsih kartār*, in 52, 3 however *aṡayō ərənavante* by *farsakāsih rādūnənd* (Huzvāreb for *kartano*).

vazanguha avi nmānəm etc. only the first verb is translated by a verb, what follows being freely reproduced thus:—*bard sātūn min latammun madam val tamman yīn mān* "go away from here thither to your house."

The whole is worked out with great care and consistency. The same word of the original text obtains in the Pahlavi translation the same equivalent. The rule is, however, not without exception. *Ānman* is translated by *astūbīh, astūbo* "non-exhaustion," in Y. 30,7 and 44, 20; but in Y. 45, 10, by *šemīh* (more accurately: with another name); *čōiṯ* in Y. 12, 5, is paraphrased by *čīgūn gūft*, but in 60, 11 it is ignored. The etymological connection of allied words is often rightly felt by the translator, *e. g. dəng* 45, 11: *dastōbar*; *dāstvām* (46,7): *dastōbarīh*. The Awesta word is not infrequently represented with instinctive correctness by the identical middle Persian word: *xᵛāthra—xᵛārīh*.

§ 46. The translations of the individual books can scarcely have proceeded from the same hand; their value is very various. The translation of the minor Yashts, Afrīngāns etc., seems to be less trustworthy and to be of later origin. The most solid and most important is the Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad, although it is far from attaining to the monumental greatness of the Indian commentaries of a Saṃkara or Mallinātha or the Kāśikā. In learning, method and accuracy the Indian scholiasts are superior to the Persian.

The strength of the Pahlavi translation lies in its vocabulary and in its cursory glosses. In the latter as well as in the interpretation proper there has been preserved a store of ancient genuine school tradition. The glosses, although often awkwardly expressed, still contribute essentially to the true understanding of the meaning. I would point to Yasna 10, 20.

gave nəmō gave nəmō

gave uxdhəm gave vərəthrəm

gave xᵛarəthəm gave vastrəm.

The Pahlavi commentator paraphrases this: "He who (gives) the cattle its request, water and fodder, to him (comes) from the cattle milk and calves. And to him from the cattle speech, to him from the cattle victory. And to him from the cattle nourishment and to him

from the cattle clothing. As is said in the Gathas: 'He who gives the cattle its request, obtains from the cattle his request', so say I here: 'he who praises the Hōm becomes more victorious'." (This refers to para. 19.) This explanation makes first clear the purpose of the quotation in its context and the antithesis in the quotation itself. The subject under consideration is the well-known relation of mutual obligation which in this case exists between man and beast. On the basis of the Pahlavi translation and following Darmesteter, we may translate: "The cow has a request and we have a request to the cow. The cow asks for friendly address and protection; the cow is asked to give nourishment and clothing." *Nəmō* is here, as in Vendidad 4, 1, a request in the sense of demand, a demand for what is due. Similar is the relation between the Haoma and its praiser; the former bestows upon him victory as the thanks due for the praise. For the thought compare Y. 65, 9.

The Pahlavi translation is also decisive in matters of textual criticism in cases where, by reason of a variation in the manuscript tradition, the meaning is left doubtful, as *magahyā—madahyā* in Y. 48, 10; *kamərədhaja*, *kamərədhačča* in V. 4, 49; *anguharəstātəm*, *hangharestātem* ib., *sayanəm* (shadow), *šayanəm* (dwelling) in Vd. 1, 9. The majority of the varying readings are, of course, connected with points of grammar or orthography (*mazdā*, *mazdāo*, *mazdāi*; *ahanghō*, *abangō*). In such cases the Pahlavi translation is of no account. Nor is it always decisive in points of higher textual criticism. Especially in the Vendidad, where the MSS. with their translation, have come to us only in one family, not a few clauses together with their translation are wanting. If the text of the translation had been handed down as a book by itself, independent of the original text, it would have been an absolutely reliable witness. In most cases, however, it is natural to suspect that through the carelessness of the copyist the Awesta sentence has been left out, and that this oversight has involved also a similar omission in the translation. When one examines it more narrowly, there are omitted sometimes clauses which either in their beginning or end coincide with a neighbouring clause; cf. Vendidad 3, 27 (two sentences begin with *bādha*), 3, 34 (almost identical with the following para). In other passages the Awesta text, together with the translation of the preceding clause, has been left out, *e. g.* 13, 47; 15, 8. Again, in other passages, only the

Awesta clause has been omitted in the Pahlavi- Vendidad, *e. g.* 3, 32; 13, 48. In both such cases the presence of the translation is a sure evidence of the genuineness of the words.

For the rest, we must look to the future for the full use of the translation for the criticism of the text and an investigation of the text on the basis of which the Pahlavi editor worked, and its relation to the traditional text, when the requirement indicated in § 49 shall have been fulfilled. Meanwhile the two texts are sometimes irreconcilable. The translator leaves out, without any visible reason, an Awesta word, which all the MSS. unanimously preserve, or he seems to have had an entirely different word before him.

§ 47. The weaknesses of the Pahlavi interpreter are due to his want of grammatical training and the grammatical consciousness. In this respect the interpreter of the Yasna is inferior to that of the Vendidad. This alone is sufficient to shew the improbability of the translator having been a single person. It seems many a time as if the translator of the Yasna had no longer any idea of the declensions and conjugations of the language he was translating. In this respect he attempts things which no one can seriously defend. We could more easily excuse the etymological artifices and subtleties. But when, *e. g.*, the words in Yasna 45, 11 : *yastā daēvəng aparō mašyāscā tarəmāstā* are made to mean, "the devs have come and behind them the despising of men", or the words in 30,1, *at̲ tā vaxšyā išəntō yā mazdāthā*, are translated "so are both these speeches desirable which are Mazda's gifts", or Y. 50, 11 : *at̲ və staotā aojāi mazdā anghācā* is translated "for me your praise is power," all philological principles are set at defiance[1]. It would be false, in order to save the credit of the Pahlavi translator, to ascribe this indifference to grammar, which often degenerates into absolute lawlessness, to the Awesta text. It is just this great gulf that separates the original parts of the Awesta from the grammatical barbarisms of the translator, which proves that the distance in time between them cannot be so small as, *e. g.*, Darmesteter assumes.

On the other hand, it must be said to the credit of the translator or translators that many of the defects which belong to their work

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[1] DARMESTETER : Arrière les Daôvas et les hommes ! Burnouf's grammatical conscience would certainly have been roused against such explanations.

have their root in the nature of the Pahlavi language itself. Pahlavi is the most unsuitable language for a scholiast. As compared with Awesta, its vocabulary is defective and it wants logical and grammatical precision and definiteness. It thoroughly suppresses the grammatical consciousness. Instead of explaining, it stands itself often in need of explanation.[1]

§ 48. In Persia Pahlavi remained until the last century the learned language of the Parsi theologians, at least, of course, in a greatly degenerated form. In India, on the other hand, this science fell much sooner into decay. Of the remains of the Pahlavi translation which were preserved, a part was translated into other languages. The most important of these translations is that of the Commentary on the Yasna into Sanskrit by Neriosangh, son of Dhaval. Anquetil remarks that this Neriosangh lived 300 years before his own time.[2] According to the Parsi Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee (1852), Neriosangh must have lived about 500 years before.[3] West[4] and Darmesteter[5] place Neriosangh about the year 1200 A. D., reckoning according to the genealogical tables. Besides the Sanskrit Yasna we possess a Sanskrit translation of the Khorda Awesta, which is likewise attributed to Neriosangh. According

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[1] The Pahlavi interpretation of the Vendidad, Visperad and Yasna has been edited by SPIEGEL, together with the Awesta text. *Cf.* "Literature" shewn at § 11. That of the three Fargards of the Hātōkht Nask with an English translation by Haug and West as a Supplement to the Ardā Virāf (Bombay 1872), pp. 269 *seq.* That of some parts of the Khorda Awesta, namely Khurshed Nyāish, including Khurshed Yasht, Māh Yasht, Srōsh Yasht Hātōkht by DARMESTETER, Ét. ir. II., 275 *seq.* That of the first Yasht by C. SALEMANN: Ueber eine Parsenhandschrift, St. Petersburg 1879, p. 30. Portions of the Pahlavi Translation have been translated or paraphrased by HAUG-WEST, Essays, pp. 338-393, (namely: Pahlavi Yasna 28. 29. 30. 31. 32, 1; Vendidad 1. 18. 19. 20). Vendidad 9, 1-36 translated by WEST in the treatise: The Bareshnūm Ceremony, SBE. XVIII. pp. 431 *seq.* Yasna 19-21 translated by WEST, SBE. XXXVII, pp. 453 *seq.*—The Pahlavi version of Yasna 30 and 57 has been translated by H. HÜBSCHMANN; see the "Literature" shewn above, § 41.—Further, GEIGER: Die Pehlevi Version des ersten Capitels des Vendidad, Erlangen 1877.—HORN, Uebersetzungen aus dem Pahlavi-Vendidad, in Z.D.M.G. 43, 31; Beiträge zur Erklärung des Pahlavi-Vendidad: I., B.B. 17,257.—L. H. MILLS, A Study of the five Zarathushtrian Gathas with . . . . the Pahlavi translation, Parts I.—IV. Oxford 1892-94.—Mills, Yasna 43, 1-10 with the Pahlavi text deciphered and translated, Z.D.M.G. 42, 439.

[2] ANQUETIL I, 2, V.

[3] SPIEGEL, Einleitung zur Ausgabe des Neriosangh, p. 1.

[4] Communicated by letter.

[5] Darmesteter I, CXIII.

to Anquetil, a Sanskrit Commentary of the first six fargards of the Vendidad is said to have existed.[1] But no trace of it can any longer be found. Neriosangh was a thorough master of Pahlavi; his Sanskrit lays no claim to being classical. His rendering of the Pahlavi Commentary is free in various places; the author has added much from his own knowledge. For the understanding of the Pahlavi translation Neriosangh is of great value.

Neriosangh himself appears only to have got as far as Yasna chap. 48 in his rendering. From that point a second translator, whose knowledge of Pahlavi and Sanskrit was equally deep, has taken up the thread. This translator also did not reach the end; he breaks off at Yasna 57. From 54, however, his translation is only fragmentary, and the entire remainder is of no value. According to Anquetil, the Sanskrit rendering of the Yasna is ascribed to two Parsis, Neriosangh and Ormazdyār, son of Rāmyār[2] and cousin of Neriosangh. According to Darmesteter,[3] this Ormazdyār is to be regarded as an incapable continuer of the work of Neriosangh. But this is impossible, for the continuer cannot have written before the year 1323, since he makes use of the MS. K[5] for his continuation.[4]

At a still later period the older commentaries were translated into the generally known modern languages, Gujarāti and modern Persian.[5]

§ 49. A correct method of Awesta interpretation must aim at uniting the two tendencies represented by Roth and Darmesteter respectively and at reconciling their contradictions. The traditional interpretation is not to be condemned in the lump because of the defects from which it suffers, nor are its mistakes to be accepted on simple trust. The Awesta must be explained as an Iranian religious

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1 Anquetil I, 2, 262.

2 *Ibid*, I. 2, 74.

3 DARMESTETER 1., CXII.

4 Neriosangh's Yasna has been edited by FR. SPIEGEL: Neriosangh's Sanskrit-Uebersetzung des Yaçna, Leipzig 1861. Spiegel used as his MSS. a Paris and a Copenhagen MS., both of which are copies of the ancient MS. belonging to Dastur Jamaspji of Bombay. Darmesteter has edited some Sanskrit and also modern Persian translations of the Khorda Awesta in the Ét. ir. II., 256 *seq.* See also § 13 and Prolegomena XXXIII.

5 The Gujarati translation by Mobed Framji Aspandiarji is specially known. *Cf.* "Literature" shewn at § 11. Pahlavi-Awesta MSS. and Awesta-Sade MSS. have often an interlinear translation in modern Persian.

book, and not from the vague standpoint of Indo-German linguistics. A thorough study of Pahlavi is indispensable. Pahlavi literature is a true aid to the knowledge of the Awesta. On this side Darmesteter's labours must remain as our example. For detailed research, according to Darmesteter, a great field of activity remains. With the mere knowledge of the Pahlavi translation the knowledge of the original is not achieved, but it often, very often, proves a finger-post. At any rate, it deserves everywhere to be listened to. It is with the Pahlavi translation very much as with Sayana's Commentary to the Rig Veda. So long as Sayana was consulted only occasionally for this or that passage, he repelled rather than satisfied many. The result was that in the one case as in the other the prejudice against the scholiast became a fashion in learning. If we accustom ourselves to the systematic use of him, and to derive from this the practical sum-total of his aid, the original prejudice soon gives place to a growing appreciation. So also the Pahlavi translation must be worked upon and digested as a whole, and, as a necessary preliminary, made more accessible and more intelligible to science before the last word can be said regarding it. In essentials, however, the judgment, which Hübschmann in 1872 passed upon its value, in various ways, should remain: "The gain will, of course, be various: abundant for the Vendidad, satisfactory for the later Yasna, but scanty for the Gathas."[1] In the difficult ancient parts of the Awesta the Parsi interpreter was often no longer able to grasp the meaning and the construction of the sentences. So far the result must be called scant. But for the fixing of the meaning of individual words and conceptions even his interpretation of the Gathas is very fruitful of result. Above all, we must endeavour to distinguish the cases in which a firm tradition was still in existence from those in which the scholiast, by combination or etymological analysis, endeavours to regain the lost or only dimly-guessed meaning of the words. To the latter class belong cases such as *advāo* Y. 31, 2 = *agūmānīkīh*, Ner. *asāšayatvena*; *ušuruyē* 32, 16 = *frāxū hōšīh* = *pṛt'ulačaitanyena*; *mānarōiš* 43, 10 = *avo li gabrā* "to my man"; *spayathrahyā* 30, 10 = *sipāh*; *yastā* 31, 7 = *matas̆* = *prāpto ca*; *yastəm* 46, 4 = *pavan zak ī mat* = *prāpte*.

[1] Avesta Studien, von H. HÜBSCHMANN, in the Sitzungsberichten der philos. philol. Kl. der K. b. Akademie der Wiss., zu München 1872, Band II. 1 Zur Beurtheilung der traditionellen Uebersetzung des Avesta, pp. 639 *seq.*—ED. MEYER, Geschichte, p. 502, gives a purely objective and accurate criticism of these methods.

Such interpretations *á la Yāska* are, however, by no means the rule. The distinction between the Indian *nirukti-* and *rūḍi-* interpretation, which is not always sufficiently estimated, has its analogy in Iran. Here as there the *rūḍ'i*-interpretation is the better as resting upon genuine tradition. Such striking and immediately convincing *ruḍi*-interpretations are, *e.g.*, *vyām* Y. 48, 7 = *navīd* "joyful tidings" (in Neriosangh *manojñam* is to read as an emendation for *manonyam*); *vanghu* 31, 19; 47, 6 = *vižārišn* "decision," Ner. *vyakti*; *ā-moyastrā* 30, 9 = *hanjamanīkīh* "assembly" (the assembly of the *satvāstarān*, of which Bund. 30, 10 speaks, is meant); *rāna* dual (31, 3. 9, &c.) = *patkārdārān* = *prativādin*; *fsəratu* (33, 12) = *sardārīh* = *prabhutva*.

The Sasanian interpreter often fails with the means at his disposal to make the meaning perfectly clear; he comes near to the truth without grasping it. Here the philological method of interpretation must come in to supplement his labours. *Ākāo* (Y. 48, 8; 50, 4) is explained as *āškārak* "clear," "manifest," Ner. *prakaṭa*. In reality it is a substantive, and means the *revelation, manifestatio*, the clear distinguishing of the good and evil in the judgment. *Vīdīša* (this is the best attested reading) 58, 4, is literally explained by *barā dahišnīh*[1] "bestowal." The distribution of reward and punishment is meant, cf. *vīdāiti* and *vyāda* in 38, 5; 60, 2. *xᵛaidhyācā* (33, 7), *ə* in 29, 6 is said to be = *pavan pūmman* "with the mouth," while it really, as elsewhere, means "personally," "self."[2] That the recollection of the original meaning is often only a dim recollection, is shewn in Y. 51, 12, where *čarataščā* is explained by *sarṯ* "cold," while in reality this must be the meaning of the following word *aodərəščā*.[3] *Čarataščā* is to be determined according to Vend. 13, 49.

The gain to be obtained from the Pahlavi translation will come in the first instance to the vocabulary of Awesta. A scientific dictionary is not possible till special indices have been prepared to the whole Pahlavi translation with corresponding Awesta equivalents, and to the Awesta texts with the corresponding Pahlavi equivalents. For the latter,

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[1] It is a drawback to the Pahlavi translation that verbal compounds are rendered in a stereotyped fashion, and thus their specific meaning is often lost.

[2] *ə* is nom. sing. of the root *a* = I, thou, or self; to it also belongs *ašči̇t* 46, 18. Similarly *thwa-* signifies not only "tuus," but also "thou thyself" (*e.g.* Y. 35, 10, *cf.* § 28), just as the Sanskrit *sva* signifies "suus" and "self."

[3] *Cf.* K.Z. 30, 524.

however, a new edition of the whole of the Pahlavi commentaries, with the aid of the actual materials which have considerably increased since Spiegel's time, is an indispensable condition.

§ 50. SANSKṚIT, the living knowledge especially of the Veda literature, will be certain, next to the Iranian languages, always to exert an important influence on Awesta research, for this reason alone that for more than a fourth part of the Awesta texts no indigenous interpretation has come down to us, and because Sanskṛit involuntarily compels a strict observation and following of grammatical rules, while those who depend unconditionally on the tradition still proceed rather loosely in this respect. No one will deny that Awesta and Sanskṛit have preserved between them in common more linguistic store than any other two languages of different tribes of people. Their close relationship is not limited only to individual words, but entire combinations, even sentences are almost identical in the two. *Čārmāṇi mlātāni* "tanned skins" (R.V. 8, 55, 3) appears in the Awesta as *mrātəm čarəma* (Yasht 17, 12);[1] *pūyed vā vi vā mrityet* (Çat. Br. 9, 5, 2, 14) as *frithyeitiča puyeitiča* (Vend. 6, 28). Side by side with Gatha sentence : *Ke mə nā thrātā vistō anyō ašāt thwatčā* (Y. 50 1) may be placed : *na nas trātā vidyate vai tvad anyaḥ* (Mbh. 1, 232, 9.) In Sanskṛit at a first meeting the question is *ko'si kasyāsi* (*e. g.* Mbh. 1,131, 34), in Awesta *čiš ahī kahyā ahī* (Yas. 43, 7).

In order to shew, however, that the Iranian often took its own separate path in the evolution of meanings of words, and that quite the opposite of the Sanskṛit, and that all etymology or comparison with Sanskṛit must give way before clear facts or testimonies in the Iranian field, I do not require to bring anew into the field the examples often quoted of *danghu-dasyu, daēva-deva*. The Awesta *mairya* has been attempted to be etymologically explained[2] as = "destructive," "fatal" or "worthy of death." Formally it is = Skr. *mārya* "a young man." Its corresponding Pahlavi in which *mar* signifies "rogue," "blackguard" (Nerios. *nṛšasa*) decides the point.

The different development of idea in the two languages can be made clear *a posteriori*. Skr. *mārya* is "a young man" in the good sense with a touch of the erotic "the fellow or lover;" Aw. *mairya*, on the other hand, is "the young lad," in the bad sense "the knave."

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1 B.B. 17, p. 349.

2 *Cf.* JUSTI, Handbuch, s. v. ; HAUG, das 18 Kap. des Vd., p. 5.

Awesta research must always take account of such Iranian peculiarities. Where Sanskṛit and the later Iranian languages come in collision with each other the Iranian must decide, as in the case of Skr. *aruša*, Aw. *auruša*, where the Pahlavi *arūs*, Paz. *alōs* (Ner. *šveta*) shew that *auruša* means "white," not "reddish," as the Skr. *aruša* signifies.

It will perhaps be difficult for any single interpreter to satisfy all the conditions above specified. Pahlavi assumes a complete acquaintance with modern Persian and a knowledge of the Semitic tongues. Awesta philology sits as it were between two stools. The coming Sōshyōs, who will really explain the whole Awesta to us, must unite in himself all these requirements. If Anquetil's prophecy holds true, we must, however, wait a long time for him.[1]

D. MACKICHAN.

[1] Anquetil I., 1, Pref. XVII.

X

DIE PARTHER.

1. NÂMEN.

Eine vollkommen sichere Erwähnung der Parther finden wir, wie OLSHAUSEN[1] richtig sagt, in den Inschriften des Darius. Dort findet sich *Parthava* am häufigsten als Bezeichnung des Landes; der Bewohner heisst ebenso nnd höchst wahrscheinlich ist Bh. II, 92 das Wort in der Bedeutung der Parther, der Bewohner der Landschhaft Parthien zu fassen. Deutlicher tritt diese Doppelheit der Bedeutung hervor in der anarischen Uebersetzung. NR. 17 dieser Uebersetzung wird *Parthava* (nach OPPERT's Lesung) durch *Parçuva* wiedergegeben, dagegen Bh. II, 3 durch *Parçuvap*, wo *p* das Zeichen des Plurals ist, Bh. II, 69, 71, 75, 78 durch *Parçuvas* zumeist mit Vorsetzung des Zeichens, welches vor geographische Bezeichnungen gesetzt wird einmal II, 68 auch *Parçuvaspe*, wo *pe* wider den Plural ausdrückt. Wie man sieht, entspricht *Parçuvas* nicht genau der Form *parthava*, sondern eher einem *parthwa* oder *perethwa* im Avesta. In der assyrisch-babylonischen Uebersetzung steht (nach von Bezold) meist *Pa-ar-tu-ú*, einmal NR. 12 auch *Par-tu-ú*. Die Griechen schliessen sich ziemlich genau an die persische Form an, doch hat Herodot III, 93, 117 und VII, 66 die kürzere Form Πὰρθοι, wie auch die Römer *Parthi* sagen. Wie Ktesias den Namen geschrieben haben mag, geht aus den uns erhaltenen Fragmenten nicht mehr mit Sicherheit hervor. In C. Müller's Ausgabe dieser Fragmente findet sich p. 14 (= Diod. II, 2) die Form Παρθυαίων dagegen p. 42 (= Diod. II, 34) Πάρθους, endlich p. 47 in den Auszügen des Photius Παρθίων Strabo schreibt Παρθυαῖοι doch auch (XI, 524) Πάρθοι Ptolemaeus Παρθαι Alle diese Abänderungen der Form in auswärtigen Schriften brauchen uns nicht

[1] Cf. OLSHAUSEN's Abhandlung in den Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften 1877: *Parthava* und *Pahlav*, *Mâda* und *Mâh*.

weiter zu kümmern, wir können sie nur als Umgestaltungen der Erânischen Form *Parthava* ansehen, an die wir uns zu halten haben.

Ueber die Etymologie des Wortes *parthava* hat wohl zuerst I. Oppert gesprochen (Inscr. des Achéménides, p. 29 des Sonderdrucks). Er leitet das Wort auf das avestische *perethu*, griech. πλατύς zurück, dem ein altpers. *parthu* entsprechen musste. Dem Worte *parthava* giebt er die Bedeutung "fort, héros, prince." Ich kann nicht sehen, wie man zu dieser Bedeutung gelangen kann. Das indische *pârthiva*, Krieger, Fürst, König geht auf sanskr. *prithivî*, die breite, die Erde zurück, ein Wort und eine Bedeutung, die für das Erânische nicht nachweisbar ist. Olshausen denkt an die Wurzel *pareth*, kämpfen, aus der ein *pareth-u*, Kämpfer abzuleiten wäre. Spiegel (Erân. Alterthumsk. III, 746 ff.) meint, dass *Parthava* die *Auswanderer*, die *Uebergesiedelten* bedeute. Dass dies die wahre Bedeutung des Wortes sei, bezweifle ich auch jetzt noch, vgl. Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft Bd. 42, S. 96, wo ich über *perethwa* gehandelt habe. Ausserdem ist noch Lagarde, Lexikographie p. 57, Ges. Abh. p. 221 zu vergleichen. Mir scheint *Parthava* seiner Form nach nur ein Patronymicum eines Wortes *Parthu* sein zu können, das ich für einen Eigennamen halte und mit sanskr. *prithu* vergleichen möchte, wenn auch bei den Indern *Pârthava* RV. 468, 8 vorkommt.

Die anarische Form *Parçuvas* legt es nahe, an verschiedene andere Wörter zu denken, die der Form *Parthava* nahe stehen und sich hauptsächlich dadurch unterscheiden, dass sie *ç* statt *th* einsetzen. Olshausen hat schon über dieselben gesprochen. Er hat zunächst an die in assyrischen Inschriften vorkommenden *Parsua* erinnert, in welchen man vielleicht die Vorfahren der *Parthava* sehen könnte. Indessen hat er die Bedenken nicht verschwiegen, welche einer solchen Ansicht entgegenstehen, denn die Parsua der assyrischen Inschriften sind nicht in der Gegend zu suchen, in welcher die *Parthava* wohnten, sondern mehr nördlich von denselben nach Atropatene, wie Schrader gezeigt hat (Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforschung, p. 168 fg.). Mit Rücksicht auf diese Wohnsitze der *Parsua* brauchen wir auch die

Frage nicht näher zu erörtern, die auch bereits Olshausen aufgeworfen und beseitigt hat, ob nämlich die *Parsua* identisch seien mit den Persern, den *Pârsa* der Keilinschriften. Es versteht sich, dass dies nicht der Fall ist. Dagegen verdient das nahe Anklingen des indischen *parçu* an *Parthva*, *Pârsa* und das anarische *Parçuvas* und *Parsua* Beachtung. RV. 626, 46 steht *parçu* als Name eines Mannes auch RV. 599, 1 will Ludwig bei dem Worte *prīthu-parçavas* die gewöhnliche Auffassung "breite Krummsäbel tragend, breitäxtig" verlassen und uebersetzen, die "Parther und Perser" (Vgl. Kommentar zur Rigveda-Uebersetzung II. Teil, p. 547.) Nach Pân. V., 3. 117 wird als Name eines Kriegerstammes angefürt, im Sing. *pârçavaḥ*, Dual *pârçavau*, Plural aber *parçavaḥ*, letztere Form deutet auf einen Singular *parçu*. Hiermit muss auch das Wort *pâraçava* zusammenhängen, der Name eines Volkes im Südwesten von Madhyadeça und auch Name einer Mischlingskaste, der Sohn eines Brahmanen mit einer Sudrafrau. Ueber ein Παργία (bei Ptol. VI, 18, 4 und 5) im Lande der Paropanisaden hat Lassen (Ind. Alterthumsk. III, 135) gesprochen und die Stadt in dem heutigen Persch wiedergefunden. Zu beachten ist auch *Parsiana*=*Nadgil* am *Alingar* (Lassen 1. 1. p. 136). Hieraus ergiebt sich soviel, dass an *Pârsa* anklingende Namen wie *Parçavas*, *Pâraçava*, Παρϐσία auch im Osten Erâns und noch darüber hinaus vorkommen und es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass Stämme oder Stammesabteilungen in verschiedenen Teilen Erâns dieselben oder doch fast identische Namen führten.

2. LAND.

Eine genaue Angabe der Grenzen Parthiens in alter Zeit, namentlich gegen Westen, liegt uns nicht vor. Aus den Keilinschriften Bh. II, 92 fg., wo die Parther mit den *Varkâna* oder Hyrkaniern zusammen genannt werden, lässt sich schliessen, dass sie wohl den letzteren benachbart sein konnten. Herodot nennt sie an verschiedenen Stellen seines Werkes mit andern Völkern vereinigt, aber wegen der Steuerverweigerung, wie III, 93 oder wegen der Heeresabteilung, wie VII, 66. Daraus folgt nicht, dass sie den mit ihnen

zusammengefassten Völkern benachbart sein mussten. Am wichtigsten ist die Bemerkung, dass der Fluss Akes durch das Gebiet der Parther fliesse. Da dies der Etrek ist, wie Lassen gezeigt hat, so muss wenigstens ein Teil ihres Gebietes östlich vom kaspischen Meere gelegen haben. Arrian sagt Anab. III, 20, 2, dass Alexander nach Ragha gekommen sei, als der flüchtige Darius in die *πύλαι τῶν Κασπίων* gekommen war, die eine Tagereise von Ragha entfernt waren. Ebenda III, 20, 4 heisst es: *αὐτὸς θὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους ἦγε και κῆ μὲν πρώτη πμὸς ταῖς Κασπίαις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε,* wonach man wohl annehmen darf, dass die kaspischen Thore schon zu Parthien gehörten und wahrscheinlich die westliche Grenze bildeten. Nach Arrian Parth. 3 waren die Parther unter Sesostris aus Skythien in ihre späteren Wohnsitze eingewandert. Wo Arrian in der Anabasis von den Parthern spricht, da meint er augenscheinlich immer blos den Stamm, den auch Darius als *Parthava* bezeichnet, auch an der letzteren Stelle redet er wohl von diesem, den er also aus Skythien hergezogen betrachtet. Ob dies mit Recht geschieht oder ob eine Verwechslung vorliegt, sind wir nicht mehr im Stande auszumachen, ebensowenig ob Arrian dadurch, dass er den Ursprung der Parther in Skythien sucht, sie zu Turaniern machen will.

Wie dem auch sein mag, sicher ist, dass von einigen Schriftstellern dieser Stamm *Parthava* von den Parthern selbst geschieden wird. Curtius, der diesen Partherstamm mit dem Namen Parthieni bezeichnet, sagt IV. 12, 17: Parthienorum deinde gens incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythia profecti tenent, claudebant agmen. Nach Isidor von Charax liegt eine Provinz Parthyene jenseits des kaspischen Meeres und scheint einen viel kleineren Bezirk zu bilden als die alten Parthava besassen: es ist das Land von Dehistân bis an die Grenze Margianas zwischen Jâjerm, Kabûcân und Meshhed. Nach einer leider etwas verdorbenen Stelle des Isidor lag dort Parthaunisa, wo die königlichen Gräber waren. Dieser Name kann nichts anderes bedeuten als: *Niederlassung der Parther.* Im Altpersischen würde ein *Parthava-nisâya* einem avest. *Parthao-nisâya* (*cf.* rao-ratha) entsprechen. *Nisa*, d. i. nisâya, das neupers. نسا bedeutet blos *Niederlassung* und

kommt deshalb auch in verschiedenen Teilen Erâns vor. Es ist in diesem Parthyaia, dass Strabo von Arsakes sagt XI, 515: φεύγοντα δέ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν περὶ Διόδοτον ἀποστῆσαι τὴν Παρθυαίαν, dass also dort im Osten, in der Nähe Baktriens, das parthische Reich begann.

3. HERKUNFT.

Es ist äusserst schwer, über die Herkunft der Parther etwas Sicheres zu sagen, nach den Erörterungen der letzten Jahre scheint mir jedoch, namentlich nach dem, was Droysen,[1] Alfred v. Gutschmid,[2] Lassen[3] und Spiegel[4] über diese Sache gesagt haben, eine erneute Behandlung der Frage am Platze zu sein.

Nach der Angabe des Arrian Parth. 3 sind, wie bereits bemerkt, die Parther in unvordenklichen Zeiten, zur Zeit des ägyptischen Königs Sesostris, nach Erân aus Skythien eingewandert. Demnach wären sie ursprünglich Skythen gewesen und keine Erânier, und zwar

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[1] Geschichte des Hellenismus. Gotha 1877. III², 358 ff.

[2] Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden. Tübingen 1888.

[3] Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige. Bonn 1838 und Indische Alterthumskunde II., 277 ff., 352 ff., 811 ff. (1. Ausg.).

[4] Erânische Alterthumskunde, 3 Bde. Leipzig 1871-78.

Die ältesten Werke neuerer Schriftsteller über parthische Geschichte sind: I. Foy *Vaillant*, Arsacidarum imperium (Paris 1728. 8⁰), L. Du Four De De Longuerue, Annales Arsacidarum. (Strassburg 1732. 4⁰). G.E.T. Guilhem de Sainte-Croix, Memoire sur le gouvernement des Parthes (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr. L, 48ff. 755 ff. Die Münzen erläutern geschichtlich die Werke von E. Q. Visconti, Iconographie Grecque III. p. 58ff.; v. Bartholomaei, Recherches sur la numismatique Arsacide (Mém. de la soc. d'archéol. II., p. 1 ff.); A. de Longperier, Mémoires sur la chronologie et l'iconographie des rois Parthes Arsacides (Paris 1853, 4⁰); E. Drouin, Onomastique Arsacide, essais d'explication des noms des rois Parthes (Revue Numism. 13, p. 360-88, 1895). Wichtig sind die Münzkataloge von: Le Cte Prokesch-Osten, Les monnaies de rois Parthes (Paris 1874-75, 4⁰), und Percy Gardner, The Parthian Coinage (London 1877, 4⁰). Vgl. I. Lindsay, Ueber parthische Numismatik. Ausserdem sind in neuerer Zeit Schriften über parthische Geschichte erschienen von: Schneiderwirth, Die Parther oder Das neupersische Reich unter den Arsaciden, Heiligenstadt, 1874; G. Rawlinson, The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy, or Geography, History, etc., of Parthia, London 1873, Demselben, Parthia in der "Story of Nations," London 1893; and Ferdin. Justi, Geschichte Irans von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ausgang der Sâsâniden im "Grundriss der iranischen Philologie" II, 480 ff., 1897.

schon jene Parther, die wir zur Zeit des Darius als Parthava innerhalb der Grenzen seines Reiches vorfinden. Hier fragt es sich nun erstens, ob damit gesagt sein soll, dass die Parther als Skythen anderer Herkunft waren als die Erânier, ob sie ursprünglich zu den turânischen Völkerschaften gehören, die wir jetzt im Norden Erâns vorfinden. Bekanntlich ist neuerdings diese Ansicht recht zweifelhaft geworden, dass sich schon im Alterthum diese turânischen Völker im Norden Erâns fest gesetzt hatten, man nimmt vielmehr jetzt an, dass ursprünglich auch die Nomadenstämme im Norden Erâns zu den érânischen Stämmen gehörten und dass erst seit dem 2. Jahrh. vor Chr. Turânier den Jaxartes überschritten und die Steppen im Norden Erâns in dauernden Besitz nahmen. Hiernach wäre es möglich, dass die Parther, trotz ihrer Einwanderung aus Skythien, von jeher zu den Erâniern gehört hätten. Es fragt sich aber auch zweitens, ob auf diese Nachricht Arrians über die ursprüngliche Einwanderung der Parther viel zu geben ist, ob es sich nicht blos um eine unbegründete Ueberlieferung handelt, daraus entstanden, dass Arsakes mit den Parnern wirklich nach Parthyaia einwanderte und dort seine Herrschaft begründete. In der Zeit, in welcher dieses geschah, könnten turânische Völker bereits den Jaxartes überschritten und sich an den Grenzen Erâns festgesetzt haben. Darum wäre es nicht unmöglich, dass die Parner, welche dem Arsakes zur Gründung seiner Herrschaft behilflich waren, zu den Turâniern gehörten. Ueber den Arsakes selbst sind zwei Ansichten vorhanden. Während ihn Strabo geradezu als ἀνὴρ Σκύγης bezeichnet, erwähnt er doch auch, dass Andere ihn für einen Baktrer hielten. Aus diesen unsicheren Angaben lassen sich verschiedene Combinationen ableiten. Entweder: 1) Arsakes war ein Turânier, ebenso die Parner, mit deren Hilfe er sich in Parthyaia feotsetzte, oder 2) Arsakes war zwar ein Erânier, bediente sich aber turânischer Hilfe. 3) Arsakes war ein Turânier, aber die Parner waren ein Stamm nomadischer Erânier. Endlich, 4) sowohl Arsakes als die Parner waren Erânier. Von diesen vier Möglichkeiten scheint mir die erste die wahrscheinlichere. Kein Zweifel ist übrigens, dass wenigstens die königliche Familie sehr bald in Sprache, Sitten und Gebräuchen an die Erânier sich möglichst

genau anschloss, die Parner aber werden sowohl zur Belohnung ihrer Dienste, wie auch als sichere Verbündete des Königs in dessen Nähe angesiedelt worden sein. Ist dies richtig, dann werden die Verhältnisse damals ähnlich gewesen sein wie gegenwärtig bei der Kaǵarendynastie und dem Stamm der Afshar.

4. PAHLAV.

Es würde uns sehr erwünscht sein zu erfahren, wie lange der Name Parther in Erân und den benachbarten Gegenden überhaupt gebraucht wurde. Ohne Zweifel war Parthava während der ganzen Herrschaft der Achämeniden als Name eines éranischen Stammes im Gebrauche und wird dieselbe auch überdauert haben; wenn aber griechische Quellen auch in den folgenden Jahrhunderten fortwährend von Parthern sprechen, so folgen sie wohl mehr alten Gewohnheiten als einer bestimmten Ueberlieferung. Bei Orientalen erscheint er von nun an nicht mehr, ausgenommen bei den Armeniern, die aber den Namen von den Griechen haben dürften. Auch fehlt es uns durchaus an einem Schlüssel zu der Verwirrung, die wir nun bei den abendländischen Geschichtschreibern finden. Dass man das neue éranische Reich als das Parthische bezeichnet, kann man ebensogut billigen, als wie man die beiden älteren Reiche als das Medische und Persische bezeichnet. Aber wir wissen gar nicht, ob in diesem neuen Reiche der Stamm der Parther in derselben Weise an die Spitze getreten ist, wie früher die Meder und Perser, man scheint vielmehr unter Parthern etwas Fremdes zu verstehen, eine ausländische Regentenfamilie oder gar einen ausländischen Stamm, der sich der Herrschaft über Erân bemächtigt hatte und nur nach und nach mit den Bewohnern dieses Landes verwuchs. Leider geben uns einheimische Nachrichten uber diese Dynastie ebenso wenig Aufschluss wie über den Namen des Volkes der Parther, das Wenige, was sie berichten, scheinen sie mir aus fremden Quellen erhalten zu haben. Die Dynastie wird die der Ashkanier genannt, was sich mit dem Namen der Arsakiden deckt. Der Name ist vollkommen begreiflich, wenn man daran denkt, dass der Stifter derselben Arsakes hiess. Wie man auch über die Herkunft dieser

Arsakiden denken mag, das ist wohl sicher, dass ihr Stifter Arsakes nicht von der alten Königsfamilie der Achämeniden in Wirklichkeit abstammte, es ist aber begreiflich, dass später die Dynastie einen solchen Zusammenhang herzustellen suchte. Nach der Angabe des Synkellos (I, 539 ed. Bonn.) scheint man dazu den Namen Arsakes benutzt zu haben, um eine Verwandtschaft mit Artaxerxes II. herzustellen, der vor seiner Thronbesteigung, wie Ktesias (c. 57) behauptet, diesen Namen führte. Spätere Nachrichten der Orientalen schweigen von dieser Verwandtschaft und wollen einen Anküpfungspunkt für die Familie der Arsakiden in den mythischen Perioden finden, indem sie dieselben zu Nachkommen des Kai Arish, des Kava Arshan des Avesta, des zweitgebornen Sohnes (oder Enkels) des Kaiqobâd machen. Nach ihnen endet die Linie des erstgebornen Sohnes mit Kai Khosrav, ihm folgt dann Lohrasp, der auffallender Weise als Nachkomme des Kai Pishin, des dritten Sohnes des Kaiqobâd hingestellt wird, offenbar um den Kai Arish für die späteren Arsakiden aufzubewahren.

Eine nicht zu übersehende Wichtigkeit für die Frage, welche uns hier beschäftigt, haben die armenischen Geschichtschreiber. Zwar sind sie den Verhlätnissen nicht gleichzeitig, sie stehen ihnen aber doch immer um einen Schritt näher als unsere anderen Quellen, denn die wichtigsten derselben lebten unter den Sasaniden, während die neueren éranischen Schriftsteller nicht einmal unter diesen, sondern noch später lebten und höchstens Werke benutzten, welche in die Zeit der Sasaniden zurückgehen. Zuerst müssen wir bemerken, dass es nicht richtig ist, wenn man annimmt, dass Parther und Pahlav identisch seien. Moses von Khorni nennt Parther und Pahlav an verschiedenen Stellen neben einander, so II, 71 und 72 und besonders c. 90, wo sie bestimmt geschieden werden und zwar als ganz verschiedene Völker oder als verschiedene Stämme desselben Geschlechts. Ueber die Pahlav spricht Moses II, 28, wo er sagt, dass der König Arshavir drei Söhne hatte Artashes, Kâren und Suren und eine Tochter Goshm, die er an seinen *Aspahapet*, oder Oberfeldherrn

verheiratet hatte. Nach dem Vorschlage des Abgar sei festgesetzt worden, dass der älteste Artashes und seine Nachkommen regieren, die beiden andern aber den Titel '*Pahlav*' führen und zur Nachfolge berechtight sein sollten, wenn die ältere Linie ausgestorben wäre. Ebenso die Nachkommen der Schwester, deren Mann den Titel '*Aspahapet Pahlav*' führen solle. Auch c. 91 wird Parthien als Reich und Pahlav als District bestimmt geschieden. Ebenso scheidet Koriun (pag. 95 der französ. Uebersetz.) die Pahlav und die Parther.

Die Parther selbst gehen nach Moses von Khorni auf Arshak zurück, der von Abraham und der Qetûra abstammt. Arshak begründet ihr Reich und regiert in Bahl d. i. in Baktrien, im Lande der Khushan. Auch Agathangelos (pag. 28) nennt die Khushan als Freunde und Verwandte der Parther, ebenso Faustus von Byzanz (V., 37). Diese Khushan zählt Elisaeus (pag. 21) zu den Hunnen, sie waren also keine Arier. Nach Ansicht der Armenier (Mos. Khor II., 72) bleibt der Hauptzweig der Familie, der sich *Vehsajan Pahlav* nennt, in Ostérân zurück und residiert in Balkh, der Hauptstadt des Bezirkes Pahlav. Dieses alte Stammland verspricht nach Moses II. 74 Ardashîr Bâbegân den Arsakiden in Persien wiederzugeben : das Vaterland Pahlav, die Residenz Bahl und das ganze Land Khushan. Etwas Anderes will gewiss auch Zenobius mit Partav nicht sagen.

Sehr verchieden lauten nun die Nachrichten, welche uns muhammedanische Schriftsteller geben aus Quellen, die noch in die Zeit der Sasaniden zurückreichen und die Olshausen schon grossenteils gesammelt hat. Während die Armenier auf das bestimmteste die Provinz Pahlav nach dem Osten setzen und Balkh als die Hauptstadt derselben nennen, behaupten dagegen die Muhammedaner, dass die Landschaft Fahla im Westen Erâns liege. So die auf den dieser Dinge so kundigen Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffa zurükgehende Nachricht des Fihrist (pag. 13), der unter dem Namen *Fahla* die Gebiete von Ispâhân, Rai, Hamadân, Mâh-Nebâvand und Adarbaijân versteht. Weniger zusagend ist eine andere Nachricht (bei Olshausen pag. 20), welche das Gebiet von Fahla noch weiter nach Westen ausdehnt, dafür

aber Rai und Ispâhân ausschliesst. Vielleicht gehört diese Begrenzung einer späteren Periode des Partherreiches an. Es fragt sich nun, wie man diese anscheinend so verschiedenen Nachrichten erklären soll. Sie haben meiner Ansicht nach nichts Unbegreifliches an sich, wenn man den verschiedenen Standpunkt der einzelnen Berichterstatter in Betracht zieht. Wir sind gewohnt unter dem Partherreiche einen einheitlichen, ganz ebenso unter EINZIGEN Dynastie stehenden Staat zu verstehen, welche der älteren Dynastie der Achämeniden vollkommen ebenbürtig war und zu der die verschiedenen Stämme Erâns ganz in demselben Verhältnisse standen wie zu dem früheren König der Könige, und so scheinen auch Griechen und Römer die Sache angesehen zu haben. Dies ist jedoch nicht die Ansicht der Orientalen, wie sie namentlich Hamza von Isfâhân und Andere entwickeln. Sie gestehen den Arsakiden nur einen gewissen Vorrang vor den übrigen Stammeskönigen zu und nennen die Zeit der Arsakiden die Zeit der Stammeskönige, im Gegensatze zu der geschlossenen Sasanidendynastie. In der That lässt sich auch für die Ansicht der Orientalen ein nicht unwichtiger Grund anführen. Die Münzen der parthischen Könige, die uns erhalten sind, zeigen allerdings, dass die Arsakiden ebenso wie die Achämeniden den Anspruch machen *die Könige der Könige* zu sein, wir finden aber andrerseits auch in Baktrien Münzen, deren Träger denselben Anspruch erheben. Neben vielen fremdartigen Namen auf denselben begegnen wir auch rein parthischen wie ARSAKES und VONONES, die aber mit den Personen, welche uns bisher unter diesen Namen bekanntwaren, nicht identisch sind. Eine andere Reihe von baktrischen Münzen, die nach dem Erlöschen der griechischen Könige zu setzen sind von AZES an, zeigt zwar fremde Namen, aber, wie SALLET richtig bemerkt, können es ebenso gut Parther wie Skythen sein. Wir werden durch diese Denkmale zu der Ansicht gedrängt, dass zur Zeit der Arsakiden zwei Reiche bestanden, von welchen ein jedes beanspruchte an der Spitze des Staates zu stehen. Griechen und Römer, sowie die Schriftsteller, welche aus den Berichten der Sasanidenperiode schöpfen, sprechen nur von dem WESTLICHEN Zweige der Arsakiden, die

Armenier dagegen von dem Östlichen. Dieser letztere Zweig scheint auch unter den Sasaniden seine Ansprüche auf Erân nicht aufgegeben zu haben, daher die so häufigen Kriege der Sasaniden gegen die Khushan, die von Elisaeus, wie bereits bemerkt, entschieden zu den Hunnen gerechnet werden. Aus diesem Allen scheint mir mit ziemlicher Sicherheit hervorzugehen, dass die Armenier die von ihnen Pahlav genannten Familien aus dem Osten Erâns, aus Balkh, herleiteten und dort den Ursitz ihrer Familie und zwar eine nicht erânische annehmen. Abweichend davon ist die Ansicht der späteren Muhammedaner, deren Nachrichten aber frühestens aus der Sasanidenzeit stammen.

5. PAHLAVÎ.

Dieser Name findet sich zuerst bei den Armeniern in der Form Pahlavik und hängt ohne Frage zunächst mit dem Substantiv *Pahlav* oder *Pahlau* zasammen, welches eine Gegend Osterâns bezeichnet, wie wir gesehen haben; *Pahlavik* sollte also einen Angehörigen dieser Gegend bezeichnen, wir finden aber, dass es von den armenischen Schriftstellern in einer eingeschränkteren Bedeutung gefasst wird, nämlich als Arsakide, Angehöriger der asarkidischen Königsfamilie. So wird bei Moses II, 80 (Tiridates) ein Pahlavik genannt; III, 34 ist von einem Pahlavik Alanaozan die Rede, der ein Verwandter des asarkidischen Königs von Armenien, Arshak war, ebenda III, 51 hören wir, dass der Katholikus Isaak geehrt wurde, weil er dem berühmten Stamme der Pahlavik angehörte und auf das Geschlecht des Suren Pahlav zurückgeht. Ebenso gebraucht findet man das Wort bei Faustus IV, 32 und IV, 38.

In einem viel weitern Sinne werden diese Wörter bei Firdausî gebraucht, dem ältesten Schriftsteller, auf den wir zurückgehen können. Das von ihm gebrauchte Wort پهلوی müssen wir auf پهلو zurückführen, das in der Bedeutung: 1 "*Königsburg, Residenzstadt,*" 2 "*Held*" noch oft genug vorkommt. In der ersten Bedeutung steht es z. B.: —

Shâh. (ed. Turner Macan) 237, 14 = Vull. 325, 5 :

چو زال سپهبد ز پهلو برفت
دمادم سپه روي بنهاد تفت

Ebenso Shâh. 298, 12 = Vull. 410, 8 ; Sh. 402, 7 = V. 558, 13. Dass an den genannten Stellen dem Wort پهلو die Bedeutung, "*Residenzstadt*" zukommt, hat Rückert in der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Bd. X, 242 ff. sehr richtig nachgewiesen. Die Bedeutung '*Held*' hat das Wort recht häufig, z. B. Shâh. 169, 1 = Vullers 232, 4 :

رمیدند ازان پهلو نامور
دلاور بیامد بنزدیک در

Vergl. auch Shâh. 170, 8 = Vull. 238, 18 ; Sh. 173, 2 = V. 237, 9 ; Sh. 174, 10 = V. 239, 3 ; Sh. 577, 15 = Vull. 809, 5. Demnach würde پهلو bedeuten : "*von Helden herkommend, heldenmässig.*" Auch dies Wort gebraucht Firdausî recht häufig und wendet es für verschiedene Dinge an. Von der '*Gegend*' gebraucht finden wir es Shâh. 708, 7 = Vullers 994, 7 :—

ز چینی و شکني و از هندوي
ز سقلاب و هري و از پهلوي

Oft begegnet uns der Ausdruck جامهٔ پهلوي "*Heldenkleid,*" z. B. Sh. 217, 6 = V. 297, 6 ; Sh. 478, 15 = V. 668, 6 ; Sh. 772, 16 = V. 1093, 13 ; in derselben Bedeutung auch برپهلوي Z. B. Sh. 543, l., v. u. = Vullers 759, 10. Das "*Heldenross*" heisst Sh. 1142, 3 = V. 1606, 19 پهلوی بارگي Einige Male wird das Wort auch von der Religion der alten Helden gebraucht, z. B. lesen wir Sh. 1070, 11, v. u. = Vull. 1503, 16 کیش پهلوی und 1248, 1 = Vull. 1756, 3 دین پهلوی Meistens wird aber der Ausdruck پهلوي von der Sprache oder von der Schrift gebraucht, so in der Redensart خط و پهلوی wo Schrift und Sprache zu gleicher Zeit gemeint ist, vergl. Shâh 22, 10 = Vull. 28, 9 ; Sh. 552, 1 = V. 772, 1 ; Sh. 636, 5 = V. 891, 13 ; Sh. 910, 6 = V. 1283, 10 ; Sh. ed. Turn. Mac. 1386, 13 ; allein von der Schrift Sh. ed. Turn, Mac. 1397, 12 ; 1561, 7 ; ebenso an den verschiedenen Stellen, wo von Pehlevîbriefen (نامهٔ پهلوی) die Rede ist. Gar nicht verschieden von

پهلوی ist auch پهلوانی So stehn beide Wörter GLEICHBEDEUTEND Sh. 1750, 11. 13. Vgl. ابرپهلوانی von der SPRACHE 2041, 6 v. u. (Zeit Khosrav II.), ferner پهلوانی سخن 1766, 5 v. u. دفترپهلوانی 1766, 4 v. u, und پهلوانی زبان Sh. 39, 11 = Vull. 51, 9; 39, 3 v. u = V. 52, 5; 432, 9 = V. 602, 5; *cf.* 921, 6 = V. 1283, 10; Sh. 2134, 13. Nach FÎRDAUSÎS Ausdrucksweise wird dieses Pehlevî, oder Pehlevânî sowohl in der alten Heldenzeit, z. B. von *Siyâvakhsh* gesprochen als noch später unter den Sasaniden. Es ist deutlich die alte Sprache, wie sie vor dem Islâm gesprocheu wurde, andere Unterschiede kennt FIRDAUSÎ nicht. Man muss sich dieselbe dem Neupersischen ziemlich ähnlich denken, wie schon OLSHAUSEN gesagt hat. Ob wir nun unter diesem gesprochenen und geschriebenen Pehlevî DIE Sprache verstehen sollen, die wir in den Schriften der Parsen als Uebersetzung ihrer alten Texte finden und die bekanntlich mit semitischen Elementen gemischt ist, scheint mir nicht so ganz selbstverständlich zu sein, wie man gewöhnlich annimmt. Sicher ist dass die von FIRDAUSI citierten Pehlevîwörter sämtlich INDOGERMANISCH sind, wie dies nachfolgende Zusammenstellung zeigen wird.

Shâh. 22, 10 (Turner Macan) = Vullers 28, 9 lesen wir das Pehlevi-zahlwort بیور und den Königsnamen بیوراسپ, dessen beide Bestandteile auf die avestischen Wörter 𐬠𐬀𐬉𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀 10,000 und 𐬀𐬯𐬞𐬀 *Pferd* zurückgehen. Shâh. 39, 11 = Vullers 51, 9 erklärt FÎRDAUSÎ durch das arabische دجله, was der Name des Flusses TIGRIS ist, das Pehleviwort اروند, das nichts anderes ist als das im Avesta so häufig gebrauchte 𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬧𐬙 *schnell, stark.* Shâh. 39, 3 v. u. = Vullers 52, 5 begegnet uns der Ortsname گنگ دژ هوخت Diese Pehlevîwörter überträgt FIRDAUSÎ durch die arabischen بیت المقدس, Beit-ul-muqaddas oder das geheiligte Haus. Eine ältere Form 𐬐𐬀𐬢𐬛𐬉𐬲 aus dem Minôkhired führt SPIEGEL in seiner Parsîgrammatik pag. 138, 169 an. Im ersten Teile nun dieses Ortsnamens erblicken wir das an zwei Stellen des Avesta (Yt. 5, 54.57) und im Bundehesh oft vorkommende 𐬐𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀, das mit dem *Kañdizh* des Minôkhired und dem *Gangdiz* des

Shâhnâme identisch sein dürfte und jedesfalls im Norden Erâns zu suchen ist, wo auch die Chinesen ein Reich *Khañkiu* kennen. Das Wort دز ist sicherlich von der avestischen Wurzel 𐬛𐬌𐬰 *aufhäufen, aufwerfen* = Skr. *dih* abzuleiten. Im Altpersischen deutet noch die Nominalform *didâ*, Festung auf die Wurzel hin, ebenso im Neupersischen دز *arx, castellum*. Dass endlich هوحت = [illegible] nichts anderes sein kann als das avestische [illegible] *heiliges Wort*, liegt auf der Hand. Weiter wird auch Shâh. 910, 6 = Vullers 1283, 10 die Stadt كندز, eine jüngere Form des Namens, die wohl der älteren *Kañdizh* gleichzusetzen ist, als identisch mit der Stadt Baikand in der Nähe von Bokhârâ erwähnt. Endlich weise ich noch hin auf eine Pehlevîglosse aus dem Kampfe Rustems mit Kak, einer Episode, die nicht von Firdausî herrührt, wo das Pehlevîwort كنك durch das arābische حصن, *locus munitus* erläutert wird.

Die Ausdrücke پهلوی und پارسی als Bezeichnung zweier Sprachen neben einander habe ich nur einmal gefunden, nämlich Shâh. 2029, 10, wo dem Wächter des Khoslav II. befohlen wird, er solle nur in seiner Gegenwart Jemanden mit dem Shâh reden lassen, es möge Pehlevî oder Parsî sein.

اگر پارسي گويد ار پهلوی

Diese Stelle scheint allerdings darauf hinzudeuten, dass man in jener Zeit am persischen Hofe bald in der einen, bald in der andern Sprache verkehrte. So wird von Firdausî auch schon ein Schreiben in Parsî von der Hand des Khosrav I. erwähnt Shâh. 1798, 7 Nirgends geht aber aus den Andeutungen persischer Schriftsteller hervor, dass Pehlevî etwas anderes als eine erânische Sprache gewesen sei.

EUGEN WILHELM.

THE PAHLAVI JAMASP-NĀMAK,

So far as it was extant in 1876 in a very old Manuscript belonging to the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana.[1]

Pa-nām u kām u *rām* u panā*sh*-i Hōrmazd khudāī dādār-i vah kirfah-kar mīnūān gētiyān mahist ameshāsfendān āvā*n*ī īzdān-i mīnūān u īzdān-i gētīyān dīdī nīk u parāna*sh* u pīrūzgara*sh* u dōsta*sh* u bēsh-zanūshna*sh* u hū-bāma*sh* u khāra*sh* u nīka*sh* u har vahān shnāyish u azbāyish ān chi nīrang u hamāīnīm vash u fīrūzkara*sh* dādār Hōrmazd khudāī kirfah-kar mīnūān gētiyān mahist afzūnītum ameshāsfendān khudāyān hū-dāgān din-i vah-i Māzdayasnān ashōān vahān avazārān avazūnyān frōhar u hamā īzdān-i mīnūān īzdān-i gētiyān āvād*ash*-i vah dādār Ōrmazd ashō hand.

Īn ashnād-kar[2] Jāmāspī khwānand pa ān gāh navisht kih Vishtāsp shāh dahyūvad būd, azash dīn ravā *jad*, azash khudāī bī pa sparūk kard, azash ōī hushmandān buzurg kārizār avā paristāsh khānānbūdi, azash Jāmāsp Ādarpādakān kih vatarān rūdastā chūn pas az Zaratusht Asfentamān mōbadān mōbad Jāmāsp būd, azashān Jāmāsp paidāyish khvānand.

Ān az pas Vishtāsp shāh, pa zīvishn-i Zaratusht, ēdūn guft: Man Ōrmazd rā farmān Jāmāsp rā dānā kard, hamā dānad. Pas pēsh-i Vishtāsp shāh Jāmāsp raft u īdūn guft: Man hamā dānam az anōshah-rawān Zaratusht Asfentāmān, kū īn chi dānā kū īn yak ō damastān kih

[1] As folios 1-16, 20-26, and 32 were missing in the DP. (Dastur Peshotanji's) MS., the text, thus lost, is supplied from the Persian-Pāzand (or Pārsi) version in Haug's MS. No. 7 (now No. 52 of the Zand Codices in Munich Staatsbibliothek). The smaller defects in DP. are also rectified in accordance with H7. This Parsi version contains several mis-readings of the Pahlavi, such as *sh* for the abstract suffix *ih*; this error, and some others when noticed in the Parsi text, are italicized, as well as defective words rectified in the Pahlavi text.

[2] For *ayād-kār*.

ārad chand srishk, u kōh chand, u zamīn chand, u dasht chand, u daryā davārīd, īn chi dānēd kih pa ōrvarān u gūfah chand, u shīkūfah chand, u ōrvar darakht andar gēhān ast; īn chi dānā kū āsmān star rā chand har yak star rā pa tan chand kih khwēsh; īn chi dānā ku andar ramah-i gōspendān u gāvān, siyāh mūī chand u mūī safēd chand, mūī shumār hamā dānam. Ōrmazd rā farmān pursīd gāh-i gēhān tā sar (اد̂)-i pāsukh chahārum.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Chi hamā bēd, u chi hamā būd, u hast bah guzasht u akanār gūī ?

Guftash Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Shinū dahyavad, ān chi hamā būd āwāj Hōrmazd andar rōshanāī, u rōshanāī az Ōrmazd ān bēd kash Hōrmazd andar khvānēd, chi azash dīn rabāyishn būd; azash zamān hamā būd*ash* Ōrmazd būd, chūn hast mīnū rāīnidār*ash*. Ameshāsfendān, īzdān, āwānīchi har dām u dahishn-i vah Ōrmazdāfrīd bakhshīd, bah āvēzh*ash* frāz dād vīnīd az rōshanī u tārīkī būd; Āhrīman chi kirm humānā andar tārīkī, ēdūn chūn kirm andar pur ba-ham būsēd; Ahrīman pa farjām pa avasāyad, u agar chi zan Ganā-mīnū bēd, nah ānō dāmī dahishn anāghrā chish-i gētī, tā nuh hazār sāl, pa gumīz*ash* ravēd, chi nah az yak gōhar hand, chi az rōshanī u tārīkī az rōshanī hū-band*ash* vakhsh*ash* har nēk*ash* rāmishn. Az tārīkī har anāgh*ash* kih hand, jud-gōharī rā, yak ō dūd hamēstār u hamīshasni hand, chūn sardī awā garmī u gandagī awā hū-bōī, u tārīkī awā rōshanī, āwānīchi har vatārī awā bahī, az chi īn awā shāyad dānēd kih nah ham-nīruī ham-gōhar hand, chi ham-gōhar nah chūnash gōhar hamēstār, nah pa avazivanīdār nīrōī chi dādār band, ēdūn chūn aj kih ōī aj rasad, vād kih ōi vād rasad, ātāsh kih ōī ātash rasad, ham gōhar rā yak dūdīgar rā afzāyish gīrēd, anāghrā chi jud gōhar hand; rōshanī kih ōī tārīkī, hū–bōī kih ōī gandī, garmī kih ōī sardī, u khushkī kih oī tarī rasad ū rashīd kunam kunēd.

Pursid Gushtāsp shāh kū: Hōrmazd dām kih nukhust āfrīd, azash gētī nukhust chi dād?

Guftash Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Hōrmazd nukhust dām ameshāsfendān

dād, chi chūn gujastah Ahrīman andar tārīkī ō ham būd, Ormazd pa ān vah-minishnī vah-dānishnī avar minīd, az ān vah-minishnī Vohuman frāz dād, anāghrā Vohuman nām chi az vah-minishnī Ōrmazd bi-bud, Vohuman ashahī bi-sitāyad, az ān ashahī Vohuman bi-sitāyad Ardavahisht frāz būd; pas Ardībahisht ashahī bi-sitāyad, az ān sitāyishn Shahrīvar chūn hast mīnū; Ōrmazd az Shahrīvar Asfandārmad, u az Asfandārmad Khurdād, u az Khurdād Amardād, yak az dadīgar, paīdā būd; yak az dūd hast bi-būd chi chirāgh az chirāgh gīrad, az ān chirāgh kam nah bēd, dūdīgar ān avazānī mad; azash ōshān ameshāsfendān, yak az dūd pa īn āyīn by-āvarēd; azash avīzhah kih dānā bīnā vazīdār u farzānah dād, ōshān nishast havash dārad, guft kū : Bun-i khudā u dastūr kih sazad būdan; pas ameshāsfendān pa nâm-chisht Ardībahisht guft yak jāvidānī ō hamā būd u hamā bēd, ān amā khudā u dastūr yūhā[1] dādār Hōrmazd ō mān rāīnīdār yūhī[2] kat amā dād āfrīd az kwēsh-minishnī frārūn az-ēshān pa-ham dād stāyish yak avā dūd, Ormazd pa khudāy*ish* bah minīd, u Ormazd vazārishn īn kih khudāī dānā, u kash khudāī khvēsh paīdā kard būd; azash az dām-i gētī nakhust āsmān, dūdīgar āv, sadīgar zamīn, chahārum aūrvar, panjum gōspend, shashum mardum dād; azash mīrad avā ravishn-i ameshāsfendān pa khūrishna*sh*-i pur-rāmishna*sh* bi-kard; azash gahanbār nām nihād; azash nakhust gāv, dūdīgar Gayōmard dād; az padvand-i ān gāv dvīsat u hashtād u dō sardah stōr u gōspend by-āfrīd kih patyārah ō dām mad; nakhust ōī gāv az ān gāvān hand sard az sard bi-būd, kih ōī Gayōmard mad. Pusar murd[3] pa jāī mardum az tokhm-i Gayōmard rawāyish kirfah az zamīn avar āmad : panjāh sāl ān būd, kih shān zanish u shavīshn na-būd; u navad u hasht sāl, u hasht māh, ān būd kih shān zanish u shavīsh kard; az ēshān haft shikanbah farzand dōgānah bi-zād, yak mādah u yak nar bi-būd; yak bah dadīgar pa zanish u shavīshn brād hand, u padvand rūbishn-i jānvarān gēti az ōshān āb bi-būd. Īn hast dām dahishn*ash* u patyārah mad azash u dām gumīkht bi-būd, tā ristākhēz tan-i pasīn ān pālūd na shavad. Īn gōhar chunīn guftash ashō Zaratusht jud dēv īn āyīn avāz ō ham

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[1] Pers. *tūī*. [2] Pers. *tū hasti*. [3] Pers. *muzd*.

āyad, andar būd khrāstarān, ān chi kih bah ān pīrūz*ash* ān būkht*ash* pa ān hamāvand*ash*.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh az Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Nukhust dahyūvad khudāī kih būd? Ōshān khudāyān yak yak ravishn ravishn chi būd? Az-ēshān dīn u dād sālār*ash* pādshāh chūn būd, u chūn kard?

Guftash Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Nukhust khudāī Gayōmard shāh būd, sih hazār sāl andar apatyār*ash*, u sī sāl patyār*ash* hand ash zīvast, azash kār dādistān chunān būd, az dīn paīdā dānist narm būd, ham chunīnash patyārah avar mad pa jāī murd azash pa zamān andar bapadīrashn*ash* ēdūn kū nēk chūn man az kam ashahī dahish rā patyārah avar mad; azash tokhm bah āūrvar shud, āūrvar bah na pazīraft, ba zamīn shud, zamin na pazīraft; sī sāl andar zamīn būd. Pas ravāsh karfah az zamīn abrūst, az-ēshān nakhust zād shatīd, ran az avīd, mard u zan bah paīvand sīm nah murd bah paīvand pa Hōshang, mard u zan zād, chihal sāl khudāī kard avar būm haft. Hōshang būd pēshdād, kih dad-i khudāyish pēsh avar Vākard, azash haft hēshm bi-zad, u yak drūj avar kard. U az Hōshang Vīvīgahān mard u zan zād; ōī Vīngahān būd, ōī chūn parī būd, ash pa dām-ī dādār frāz girift. zād Kakbkhumūrap, u azash chi Spendīvar Tahmuras būd zād kash gardad, īn padash avar haft kishvar sī sāl Kheshm-i Ahrīman pa bārā-ē humānā azīr rānī dāsht, sī sāl hich gunah na tavānast kardan; azash vash zad shāh u parī u dēv; azash shāh az hamī rasn*ash* u ham nishast*ash*-i mardumān judā kard. Az Vīvīngahān mard u zan zād, Jam u Jamī zād, u Jamshēd-i hūram būd, pur khūrah u rajāvand tagīsh[1] parvāvān pīrōzgar*ash*; azash avar girift haft kishvar pa khudāy*ish* avar mardumān u dēvān haftsad sāl u hafdah sāl u haft māh; pa ān rōzgār abar u vād u vārān andar farmān-i ō būd; azash shāh-i dēv u drūj pa parist*ish*ān bandah ōī mardumān dād, dēvān kard, mardumān khird-i mardum andar āsāyish-i kām zīvishn*ash* bud hand. Pa ān Jam khudāy*ish* nah sarmā būd, nah garmā, nah zarmā,[2] nah marg*ash*, nah arishk būd, dēvān dād īn hamā būd hand bah ōī kih az kār avāj dāsht īstādah hand. Azash haft parī kih pa star kū rōshan ravad, az

[1] Pers. *zūrāvar*. [2] Pers. *pīrī*.

paristārakān ōī stārakān kōkhshīnand, chashm jud az kīnān āvānī girift zīvandān kard, azash kīnān pa 'yak chashm kūr kard, azash padmān az ōshān avāj ēstad; azash sarmā u garmā har chish avāj padmān kard; azash gēhān parāvāntar[1] bi-kard pa bund*ash* haftsad sāl u hafdah sāl u haft māh andar ān-i khvēsh dādār hū-sipās bi-būd; sad sāl parī nihān-rūbishn*ash* andar daryā raft, avā Jam ratī; pas chi az ān chūn hū-sipās khvāst gavishn būd, zanish varj khurah azash āzār būd; ōī giriftār*ash* mad gujistah Azh-dahāk, kih shān Bēvarāsp chi khvānand, avā spēdī dar khānah chi vas dēv chi andar girift pa ard burīd hazār tēgh, azash avar girift; khudāī-i Azh-dahāk sih zavar,[2] shash chashm, hazār zavastār,[3] avar būm-i haft kishvar, avar dēvān u mardūmān, hazār sāl; azash vanāh u ziyān u anāgh*ash* pa mardumān angām kard; azash har roz dō mard-i javān bi-girift, hājat-i ān damār*ash* pa gardan būd, azash maghz-i mardumān sēr kard; pas khūd nān khūrd; azash anāgh*ash* angām numūdan, azat was adād*ish* avēzhah jamā kunishn*ash* pa-mardumān angām kard andākht. U bund*ash* hazār sāl kam yak nīmroz, u Farīdūn Ātvyān Jam dān khvēshāndān shud; azash, pa kīn-i Jam, Bēvarāsp girift, pa ān shikufttum band pa kōh-i Damāvand bast; khvēsh varj hand-ash tāg*ish* Farīdūn khudā*sh* frāz girift ba-kishvar-i Khaniras, avar dēvān u mardumān, pānsad sāl; azash Ōrmazd dīn pazīraft, azash afsūn nīrang u darmān az Ōrmazd āmūkht, vash dōst*ash* u bēsh- zīvashn*ash* pa dāmān-i Hōrmazd kard, azash farmūd, u ōī mardumān kū mardumān-īnak khvēsh zīvēd ravēd pa khvēshkār*ash* tukhshēd, aztān nīst avā dēvān kār kardand, nah khird nah hamī*sh* nah dushārm*ash* avā khūd yak avā dōam pa dūshārm*ash* dādistān hū-parast*ish* zīvēd rāīnēd, dād-i frārūn gīrēd, az ān-i avārūn bih varavēd,[4] chi shumā avā dēvān chish chi kār nīst, gāh yak Māzandar, yak Hēzand daryā, u pa pā-ī ōī dārad ōī kishvar-i Khanīras āmadand; az-ēshān mardumān Hēzand giriftāh hast, u khird pas mardumān bah girzishn-i Māzandarān ōī pēsh-i Farīdūn āmad hand az-ēshān guft kih: Azh-dahāk khudā-i vatar būd az har aish; azash dushman mūrv āvāj dāsht; tū dāshtan na-tavān. Pas Farīdūn ōī nazdīk-i Māzandarān shud, azash ōī ōshān guft kih: Mardum

[1] Pers. *farukh*. [2] *zubān dahān*. [3] *mard zūr*. [4] *garavēd*.

az-īn kishvar mā gīrēd, pa avēzhah dānish bi-shavēd. Ōshān guft ku: Ēmā az īdar bih na shavīm, nah chi īdar zīvand hilam. U Farīdūn kash pa ān āyīn shinīd pa varj khurah ān aīsh az yazad avar mad ēstād, andwā[1] avar shud; azash vīnī pazaft,[2] azash az har kūst yak vīnī sang yak chand hazār min afzūntar har yak chand kōh yak avar ōshān afgand; īshān Māzandarān hūras[3] az-īn kishvar apēdā būd hand. U az Farīdūn zād sih pūs, Salm u Tūr u Īrach nām būd hand; azash har sih ōī pēsh khwānd, ōī ōshān yak yak guft kū: Gēhān avar shumā hamā ba-khashm har yakē ān ātān vah shahīd khwāhēd tā tān navash daham; Salm vash sēj būsh, Tūr tagī, u Īrach az-ān chīn*ash* khurah kyān avar būd dād dīn khwāst. Farīdūn guft kū: Ēdūn chandān khwāst, atān ham-gunah ba-rasād. Zamīn-i Arūm, tā ōī daryā u bār, ōī Salm dād; u Turkistān ba-vahāj, tā ōī daryā bār, ba Tūr dād; Īrān shahar u Hindugān, tā daryā bār, ōī Īrach mad. Farīdūn andar zanān anāgh ō sitāyam az sar-i khwēsh ēstad, pa ān Īrach sar hand, guft kū: Nīst ān-i man khūrah pa ān-i Īrach sar tā hāvanān pursī kard kardār*ash* hamā zīvand*ash*-i tū farzandān-i tū avar farzandān-i Salm u Tūr, u khudāy*ash* u pādshāh*ash* bād, Salm u Tūr kih shān pa ān āīn dīd, guft kū: Īn chih būd Farīdūn pad-i amā kard, kash sālār*ash* na ōī farzand-i mas, na ōī farzand-i miyānah dād, bah ōī farzand-i kas dād. Az-ēshān Īrach, brād-i khūd, avazad, farzandān-i hūb*akhta*gān ba-kanīzak yak, Vīrak nām, tā hich zīvand bah nah halam. Pas Farīdūn ān kanīzak bah nihān hamā parvard; az padvand-i ān kanīzak andar kōh pinhān mānad *sīh*ṣad u sī sāl, sī hazār mardum bi-shud ba-sālār*ash*-i Mānashvyār u farmān-i Nēryōsang ōī Īrān shahar āmad hand; az ēshān bahār Īrach khvāst, az ēshān Salm u Tūr avazad. Mānashvyār Īrach pa khudāy*ash*-i Īrān shahar, azshān Mānashvyār anāghrā nām kard, chish chihar pa ān Īrach mānast; az ēshān guft kū: Mānand bah chihar pa chiharah-i Īrach, azash kard, u sad u bīst sāl khudāy*ash* andar khudāy*ash*-i ō gēhān āvādān, pur-nēk*ash*, avī-bīm būd. Andar vahān khudāy*ash*-i Mānashvyār, āvānī Afrāsyāb-i Tūr jādū dvāzdah sāl pādshāhī ēstadi Mānashvyār, āvānī Īrach andar kōh-i Padashkhwārgar zīvishnah būdah hand. Pas Sfendārmad ōī gēt-i

[1] Pers. *andūh*. [2] *bi-suft*. [3] *bi-zad*.

karōsh vast, az-ēshān vas avazār chahār parhēz yār*ash*;āvānī mīnūān-i vah zamīn az Afrāsyāb avāj sitad. Pas Mānashvyār Azō bin Tahmāspān kard panch sal; u Kaī-Kubād-i Kayān sad sāl; u Kai-Kāūs sad u panjāh sāl; Kai-Khusrō Syāvakhshān shast sāl; u Kaī Lahurāsp sad u bist sāl; az Kaī Lahurāsp khudāī ōī shumā by-āyad.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh ōī Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Ōshān mardumān pa Arzah, u Shavah, u Fradadafsh, u Vīdadafsh, u Vōrūbarsht, u Vōrūzarsht jud jud dād ravishn chi pa jim kih ēstad? Az-ēshān khūrishn bar ham padmūzan chūn? Az-ēshān zīvand*ash* chand mīrand? Ōī kih afganand az-ēshān ravān ō kih shavad?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Pa Arzah Shavah mardum damastān Srōsh rā yazishn, pa ān pād-dahishn Srōsh avar ōshān khudāy*ash* faristēd; az -ēshān dād bah*ash* u dīn pōryō-dkēsh*ash*; az-ēshān zīvand*ash* vas vas hast az-ēshān kih sī-sad sāl bī-zīvand; az shān kār bār nēk*ash* az [illegible] mūrū māhī vas pa kām-i ōshān khudā sālār Srōsh; ō kih mīrand ashō hand; ō ān kih āwānī kishvar hast pa kōh-mānishn, u hast aūrvar-mānishn, hast u yār hast u khīr hast u vahisht hast, u dūzakh na-shavand.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Ōshān mardumān kih pa Alburz, ān -chi pa Alburz ōi ān kust mānand, ēshān dād u varzishn chi? u zīvishn chi u chūn?

Guftash Jāmāsp Bētāsh kū: Oshān mardumān ēshān jāī rōshan-khūsh har nēk*ash* hast, azēshān zīvand*ash* vas khudā yār bahdīn ravān dōst u dīn dōst hand, az ēshān khudā dahyūvad Srōsh, az ēshān patyārah kam, kih mīrand ashō hand.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Ēshān mardumān bah Kangdizh, ān chih pa Var-i Jamkard, ān chih pa Īrān-vēj mānand, ēshān dād u dīn u ravishn u zīvand*ash* u khūrishn chūn? u kih mīrand ravān ō kih shavand?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Kangdizh gēhān*ash* bāmī kard avar kamār-i dēvān, azash rah-i vīrān[1] pīrāmūn haft-sad farsang, azash haft firast

[1] *khālis.*

hast, nakhust āhinīn, dōdīgar rūyīn, sadīgar pūlādīn, chahārum burinjīn, panjum kānsakīn,[1] shashum sīmīn, haftum zarīn; azash kushk gāh sīmīn, azash kih zarīn barham-and; azash haft margh-zār andar vas nēk*ash* u parvar; azash haft rūd bālā az andarūn by-āyad: ān jā hamīshah bahār āvādī-chi darakht pa bār; azash sarmā u garmā: ēstād, nah bēd. Azash avānī patyārah kam mānand u khūb zīvishn u yār-i bah-dīn hand; az-ēshān dād bahi*sh*, u din pōryōdkēsha*sh*; az-ēshān zīvand*ash* vas kih mirand ashō hand. Azshān rad Pēshōtan -bāmi shumā pūs, u khudā u sālār Khusrōb; ēshān gēhān u mardumān pa Var-i Jamkard hamā bah-din, ravān-dōst, kirfah-kar hand; azshān zīvanda*sh* vas hast sī-sad sāl bi-zīvēd: pa har chihal sāl, az mard-ē, u zan-ē, farzand-ē bi-zāyad; azshān patyārah kam; andar ān aē kih Malkūs jādū damastān aēdūn shikuft mīrad bēd, mardum u avānī stōr u jānvar pa-zāyast bi uftēnd, u mardum u avani stor u jānvar az ānō by-āzard, ēshān āvāz khursand. U mardum pah Īrān-vēj mānand hamā yār-i bah-dīn: az-ēshān bar nēk, u dād, dām, mūrvān, māhīn, gāō, u gōspend vas; u dah māh ānjā damastān u dō māh hāmīn, u ān chih dō māh sard; azshān patyārah zamastān u mār-i āvī vas bēd: kih mīrand ashō hand, u az-ēshān zīvand*ash* haftād sāl.

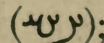
Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Ōshān mardumān pah Hindūgān u Chīnyān u Turkistān u Tāzīgān u Barbaristān, jud jud, dād u ravishn chih? Azshān zīvand*ash* nēk*ash* chūn? Kih mīrand ō kih afganad? Azshān ravān ō kih shavand?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Hindūgān shahar buzurg hast, u sard hast u garm hast, u tar hast u khushk hast; dār u darakht hast; kih dasht sakht hast, kih niyaz hast, kih ēshān zīvishn*ash* az barinj hast, u kih az shir-i gāō hast, kih az tokhmhā khurand; azshān, kēsh u dād u ravishn vas u hast pah nīmah-i Aūrmazd u hast pa nīmah-i Ahrīman jādūy*ash* āshkārā kunand; u kih mīrand hast kih andar zamīn nihān kunand, u hast ōī āv afganand, u hast pah ātash bi-sozand; u har kih nah hū-dīn ōī dūzakh shavand. U Chīnastān shaharhā-ī buzurg vasī zar, vas muskh, vas gōhar, vas ān-chish andar band kard ōī nīz amān bār yak vīnash estād band, u but paristand; kih mīrand darvand hand.

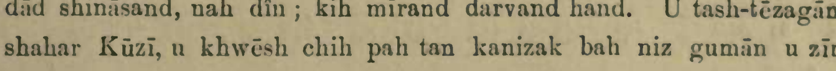
[1] *kusah.*

Tāzīgān u Barbarīgān shahar garm u khushk vyāvān, nīst bar ō āv; dōd azshān khūrishn shīr u kharāstarān u mūsh u mār u gurbah u rūbāh u kaftār u avāni īnash anazdī*sh*[1] parastīnand; az ēshān zīvishn ushtar u chahār-pāy*ash* chish.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Ōshān u var-chashmān u vargōshān u duvālpāyān u tash-tēzān u kahrubā-sarān[2] būm u zamīn chūn? pah nīmah-i Aūrmazd ēstand, ayā pah nimah-i Ahriman? az-ēshān dād u din chūn? khūrishn u zivishn chih u chūn? kih mirand ō kih afganand? azshān ravān ōi kih shavad?

Guftash Jāmāsp kih: Ōshān mardumān pah zamin var-chashmān mānand, azshān jaī zamin-i paryān u parūs-nishīn and; azash dār u darakht vas bēd, u gāō vas dārand; azshān sālār khūdā īnast pah nīmah-i Ahrīman ēstād; ō kih mīrand bi-khūrand, ba-har-yak kih ōshān ōī ātash afganand, u andar miyānah pur bād zīvand*ash* har jānvar ēshān khurah kārad bi-khūrand. Var-gōshān hamgūnah, b-ēshān khūrish barg-i darakhtān va-giyāh (); u nah dād shināsand, nah dîn; kih mīrand darvand hand. U tash-tēzagān shahar Kūzī, u khwēsh chih pah tan kanizak bah niz gumān u zīr parastār band; bah nīmah-i Aūrmazd hand, u hamvārah avā var-gōshān pah gavishn vakhsha*sh* kārīzār ēstand; u kih mīrand hast ōī vahisht, hast ōī dūzakh shavand. Duvālpāyān u sih[3]-sarān varzīdār vasturg u rīman, nah dād, nah dīn, nah kirfah, nah gunāh shināsand; az-ēshān mah sālār nīst, u pah nīmah-i Ahrīman ēstad, u har chih ashō hand bi-khūrand; u har kih shān azash bi-mīrand bi-khūrand; azshān pāk pākīzī nīst; azshān ravān nīmah i Ahrīman, ōī dūzakh shavand.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kih: Ōī ōshān mardumān-i Sīlānī, u ān chih andar zarah daryā mānand, az ēshān zīvishn vadārishn chih? az ēshān khudaī sālār kih? pa nīmah-i kih ēstād?[4]



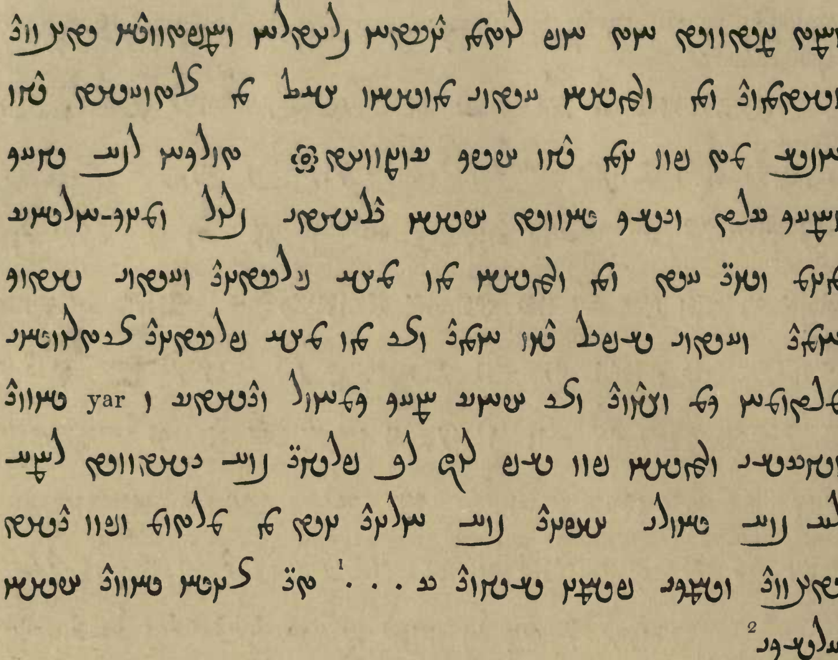
[1] Perhaps: *dūsh aūzdēsh.* [2] Perhaps: *kalbā-sarān.* [3] For *sag.*

[4] Here the Pahlavi text, extant in DP., begins with folio 17.

14

[illegible]

¹ "Fear." Perhaps [illegible]



Zanān sākht, az ēshān zanān pah shalvār ustuvār hand, u marzishn vas kunand; az ēshān dīdan chih dār u chashm dūd, vas sard u vas garmtar band, az ēshān hamvār yak avā dūd vakhshash kārīzār, u ān varzishn bēd; az ēshān marg*ash* khvār afsēnd, andar chih ān kishvar hast, u kih az ā pasēnd dād, īn kih padīraft ēstad, kisht varz āvādān*ash* kunand; kih mīrand ōī bē-shak afganand, ō hast ōī bahisht, ō hast ōī dūzakh ō hamīstakān shavand, ō kih nīst [illegible] ōshān chih avāz [illegible] azshān minishn u varzishn avā mardumān bēd.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Tū īn kūdak*ash* az chih kih chūn avar mad ēstad, chi-rā khudāyān dahyūvadān īn kūdak*ash* avar nah mad ēstad? haft īn kūdak*ash* u āgāh*ash* ōī kas chāsīd u guft tavān, ayā nah haft? nakhust ōī kard ayāft az ashkam-i mādur dāshtand? tū Jāmāsp

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[1] No. 7 has :—*mar bud zīvishn.*

[2] Pahlavi Folios 20-26 are missing; the Parsi text that follows is supplied from Haug's MS. No. 7.

andar-ān zamān ravān Garothmānī, ayā nah haft hargiz darōgh guft ayāō, nah?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Man īn āgāh*ash* az dīn-i Aūrmazd u Zaratusht khūsh mad ēstad, u īn kūdak*ash* u zīrak*ash* ōī man chūn ān mard kih ōī shumā dahyūvad khūdāy*ash* ēstad; avam nah az padar nah az mādar [illegible][1] vandādam bah ōī kas chāshīdan ōī kardan tavān avam īn kūdak*ash* u āgāh*ash* aēdūn khūsh mad ēstad, kih īn har āhanah[2] mardum hamā rōz zād u mīrad, īn kū chih nām, u kih pūs, u az kadām tukhm u chih ēshān, u pah kadām akhtār yār, u kadām avakhtār hamīmāl, az ēshān zan u farzand u zubān nakhust, u khudāy*ash* u pādshāh*ash* chand, chūn, chih āyīn, u ān chih tā frashakard u tan-i pasīn dānam; avam ōī dahyūvadān mardumān chāshīdan ōī kard tūbān, chūn man Jāmāsp pah ān zamān ravān Garōthmānī, avam hargiz darōgh na-guft, nah chih gōyam.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Īn hamā dahyūvadān u khudāyān īn frāvān gāh chand sāl nishīnam? avmān kār kirfah chih pah khoēsh-kārtar sazad frāz girift kardan?

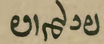
Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Pa-kār kirfah kardan tukhshash bāyad farmūdan [illegible] aēdūn būd hā pah padīd bēd, u ān [3] [illegible] Aūrmazd u Zaratusht padīraft, padash avīrtār tukhshīd, u az har vanāh frōd minad, pēsh parhēzēd; īn hamā mardumān kih shān shumā avar khudāī u pādshāh hū mīnad u gāh avī bīm dāsht, azshān [illegible] bē-kār-i mādar-i mā chih har mardum andar gētī barhān āmadan, barhān bi-shavad; chish chih avā bah nah barēd, jud az kunishn-i nēk-i shumā, chih chand tawān-hā, kār kirfah avāzī[4] mā ōī hilad, chih zūd bēd, kih tān pah kirfah kardan kāmā avad ān zamān nah bēd, chih tān gōyam; shumā dahyūvadān kū pēsh az yak sāl ō vadīrān*ash* u natīstas[5] rasad.

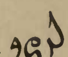
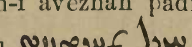
Pas Gushtāsp shāh, kash ān ashnūd, [illegible] [illegible] kār kard, andūh-khvār man azash pūs u dukht az si azash zādah hand, u

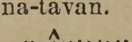
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[1] *yāft.* [2] [illegible]. [3] *pusht.* [4] *digar.* [5] [illegible] (?)

avānī b-ān bavishnān u farzandān kasān ān kār ashnūd, hamā pah  ō tamām shavēd shudah hand. Ō kih Gushtāsp khurah, andar ōī giriftan, andūh afganand, u gunāhgār yak afganand, u kār gīrand.

Pas Jāmāsp farmān dād kū: Bar mā vashēd fardā frōd afgandan kash  mān hiland.

U pas Gushtāsp shāh, ham-chūn  būd, ō Jāmāsp guft kū: Amā īn kih mān īn dīn-i avēzhah padīraft, andar gēhān ravā kard, ō mān hand, u dēv drūj u  zadan avazadan az Īrān shahar bīrūn kard u Asfendyār, man farzand, avāj dāsht, u vas ham man sipāh u dahan az bahar-i dīn rā avazadan avamān dāsht pah shān īn āvāyad būd, chūn hūbīn ō paidā būd, u man, Vishtāsp az-īn gāh u az-īn gēhān pah sūd rōzkār judā būd, man az-īn brādarān u farzandān u mān bōshān u takht u khurah-i Kayān hand, stāyam dāvar vad Kayān.

U pas Jāmāsp guft kū: Ōshān ravān gīrād, īn khūrah-i Kayān pah shumā avar nishastēd, mā āzārēd, u dard bahar ōī tan mā hilēd, o pah yazishn dahishn khvēsh tan andar rāmishn dārēd, avā farzandān u brādarān b-ān bavīstān mēzad kunēd, āyīn gāh u khūb pah rāmishn dārēd, chih zīvandishn basīm nēk u yak sāl nah az hazār sāl andar abasīm*ash* avadān[1] īn chih gōyam kih marg kash avāz na-gīrēd, u zamān na dādēd, chih Gayōmard būd Aūrmazd-dād, kash zamān mad, Ahrīman pah marenchinīd, u dadīgar yak yak khudāyān pēsh būdah hand, kash ān zamān frāz mad, chish az kardan na-tavān, pa nāmchist Tahmōrap kash sī sāl Ahrīman bah bār dāsht, u chih kash khvēsh frāz mad, khvēsh tan az khūsh avā dāsht na-tavān. U pas Gushtāsp, kih shān azash shinīd, andar khvēsh tan  padīraft, azash andar gēhān sipāsdār*ash* kardan, u Jāmāsp āfrīn kard.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Az pas hamā dahyūvadān u khudāyān īn farāvān gāh kih kadām khudā dārad jud chih? u kih pas az tukhm kadām band? u har yak kishvar chand sāl dārēnd? kih ān-i nēk, u

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[1] *ākhar.*

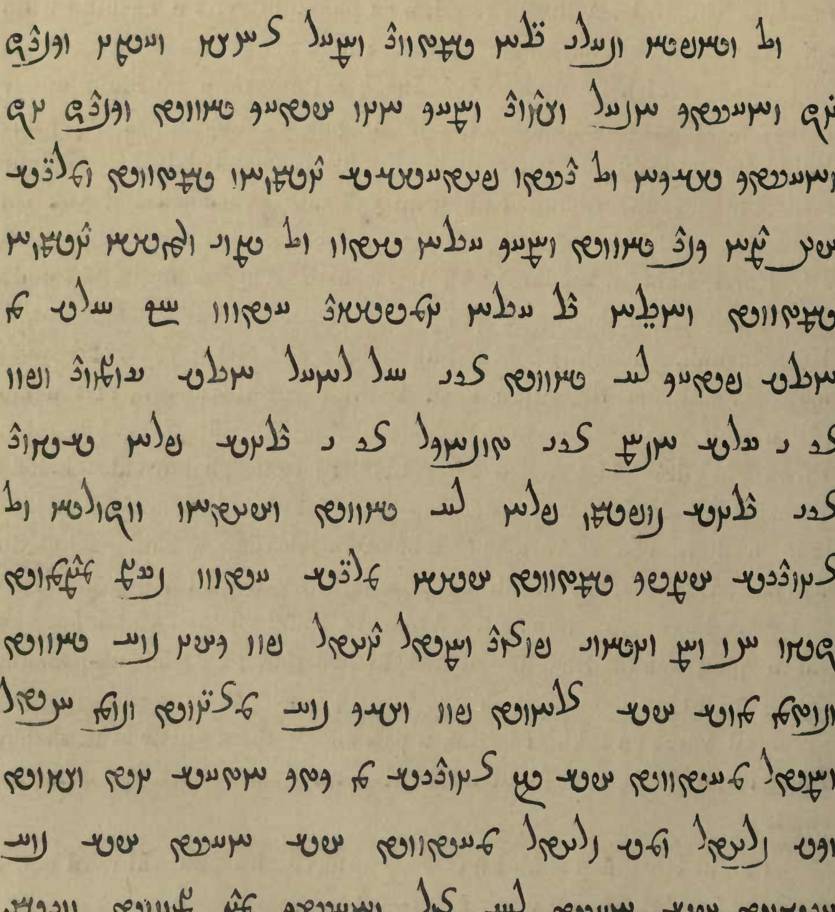
kih ān-i vatar? pas az mā chih angām u zamānah rasad? īn dīn-i Māzdayasnān tā kī chand sāl ravad?

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Tān gōyam, pas az shumā az īn frāvān gāh ōī Ardībahisht Asfendyār rasad, u dārad kishvar pah khudāyash sad u dvāzdah sāl, avā dām, kash Chihar-āzād chih khvānand, sī sāl khudāyash bi-gīrad. Dārāī Dārāyān sēzdah sāl khudāyash bi-gīrad. Pas az kih ōī Askandar-i Rūmī sēzdah sāl. Pas bah ō tukhmī u dād rasad, ō Khusrō ba-Ardavān rasad, u az panand dovīst u hashtād u dō sāl. Pah ōshān khudāyān sar anākash andak andak pas āyad, u nēkash sapar[1] yak, u kishvar andar āvādānash avībīmash, u mardum andar kāmah-zīvishnash dāsht ēstad band. U pas khudāyash ōī Ardashīr Bābakān rasīd, dārad kishvar pah khudāyash chahārdah sāl. Shāpūr Ardashīr bīst sāl. Shāpūr Shāpūrān yak sāl. Aūrmazd dōd yak sāl u dō māh. Bahrām Bahrāmyān, yash khvānand Sikān shāh, chahal sāl. Narsī, Bahrām brādar, nuh sāl. Shāvar[2] Aūrmazdān haftād u dō sāl. Ashādvarān haftād u panj sāl. Bahrām Shāvarān, khvānand Karmānshāh, yāzdah sāl. Shakūt Shādvarān[3] bīst u yak sāl u panj māh. Varahrām Shakūtān, kash Bahrām-gōr khvānand, bīst u sih sāl u dah māh. Shakūt[4] Varahrām panjdah sāl u chahār māh. Pīrōz Shakūtān bīst u dō sāl. Līs[5] Pīrōzān chahār sāl. Kobād Pīrōzān avā sāl chihal dō. Jāmāsp Khāmīst chihal u haft sāl u haft māh u haft rōz. Aūrmazd Khusrōān duvāzdah sāl. Khusrōb Aūrmazdān, Avarvēz[6] shāh sī u haft sāl. Kabād Khusrōb, kash Shīrūyah khvānand, nuh sāl. Ardashīr, khūd vāstar-i Kabādān, yak sāl u panj māh. Shakūt[7] Shaharyār bīst sāl az ān frāz na-panand, ōshān khūd pah khūd bah avasīnand; pas pah āīmand-i Tāzīgān avazārad varas az tukhmī hēshm u pah andak zūr u zūvār Īrān shahar frāz gīrand sī-sad u hashtād u dō sāl u nuh māh u haft rōz u chahār sāʿat.

Pursīd Gushtāsp shāh kū: Īn dīn-i avēzah chand sāl ravā bēd? u pas az ān chih aūbām u zamān rasad?

[1] *ākhar.* [2] *Shāpur.* [3] *Yazdakard i Shāpurān.*
[4] *Yazdakard.* [5] *Palāsk.* [6] *Parvēz.* [7] *Yazdakard.*

Guftash Jāmāsp kū: Īn dīn hazār sāl ravā bēd, pas ōshan mardumān andar ān hangām band, hamā ōī mihr-drukhsh ēstand, yak avā dūd nīvar*ash* u drōgh kunand, u pah ān chīm Irān shahar ōī Tazīgān avaspāraud; u Tāzīgān har rōz pah rōz nīrōtar dahand, shahar shahar frāz gīrand, mardum hamā ōī avārūnī drōgh vardīnand, u har chish ān goyand u gīrand, azshān khvēsh tān sudmandtār, azshān ravishn-i frārūn azash āzār bēd, avēz sanast īn Īran shahar.[1]



[1] Here begin the remaining folios 27 to 31 of the Pahlavi text extant in DP.

15

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] [1]

Watford. E. W. WEST.

[1] Rest of Pahlavi is lost. The Parsi version continues one line further, as follows:—
i daryā bār mard-ē Mihr Īzad bah avazūd, Mihr Īzad vas. . . .
and then breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

THE LIFE AND LEGEND OF ZARATHUSHTRA.[1]

Zarathuštra (Zoroaster), the founder of the Iranian religion of the invokers of light, received in antiquity such universal homage, that he was honoured not only by the Medes and Persians, who revered him as a Lawgiver and Teacher of religion sent from God, but also by their political enemies, the Greeks, who compared him to Zaleukos, Minos, Numa, and Lykurgos; and many of their own celebrated philosophers became students of Zoroaster and of the Magi, his followers.

The Zoroastrian religion was the first to reject the ancient Aryan heathenism as false doctrine, and in an age, when all the world knelt before Baal and Astaroth, shuddered at the demons with which they peopled nature, or worshipped trees and animals, it taught the existence of a higher being, presiding in perpetual light, who was too holy to accept bloody sacrifices, only demanding good thoughts, words, and actions, to enable the realm of truth and purity to become triumphant over falsehood and darkness.[2]

To the imagination of the Jews, the Zoroastrian king of Persia, Kyros (the first conqueror of the world, who no longer allowed vanquished kings to be skinned alive and to have their eyes put out) appeared as the promised Anointed One, or Messiah,[3] who, by direction of Jahweh, the God of heaven,[4] commanded the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem; and tradition allows the Magi, or Median priests, to worship the child Jesus,[5] whereby the Jewish Christian religion does not entirely reject the Zoroastrian faith which also expects the coming of a Saviour, so separating it from the Mythology of the Goyim ("Gentiles"), or Pagans.

[1] Zarathuštra is the exact pronunciation of this Ancient Median name; the *z* has the soft hissing sound as in French, *th* has the same sound as the hard *th* in the English word *thumb*, and š has a sound between *s* and *sh*.

[2] Mills: *The Initiative of the Avesta.* Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, 1899, p. 273.

[3] The later Isaiah, xlv., 1.

[4] Ezra, i, 2.

[5] Matthew, ii., 1, 2.

No wonder that, 300 years ago, scholars began to collect every detail that antiquity had preserved about this remarkable man who, by his theories, that the cultivation of the land and the advancement of every kind of culture was an act of worship, stands out really as the founder of civilization in Iran.

Barnabas Brisson[6] was the first to collect all records of antiquity relating to the Prophet. Thomas Hyde[7] quotes the statements of Eastern authors on Zoroaster. Adolf Rapp,[8] has again worked all these ancient records into a collection that is well worth reading; and so is the collection of Arabic, Syriac, and other Eastern allusions to the prophet, edited, a few years ago, by R. Gottheil.[9]

Professor Williams Jackson[10] has rendered important service by his writings and treatises on the language of the Awesta, and by his comprehension of these sacred books; he has also written a shorter work on the same subject[11] and has made such an exhaustive collection of notes, concerning Zoroaster, from the Ancients and Oriental sources, with name and subject index, that one is virtually relieved of the trouble of referring to the numerous works that he has used. This collection from the fountain-head, the contents of which are based partly on the Zoroastrian legend, and are partly a correction of the same, have been separated from the descriptive portion of the work and placed in the appendix.

He relates the life of the Prophet chiefly from the Pahlawi works, Dīnkart and Zât-sparam's Selections, written in the ninth century, and also from the Zartusht Nāmah, written in the thirteenth century, in

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6 De regio Persarum principatu libri III. Paris, 1590 ; with notes and index. New edition by Friedr. Sylburg, 1595 and 1606 ; also with Latin translation of the Greek citations, and revised index by I. Heinr. Lederlin. Strassburg 1710. Lib. II. Cap. 57 *seq.*

7 Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis historia. Oxford 1760.

8 Zeitschrift der Morg. Gesell. XIX. (1865), 21 ff.

9 References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature (in Classical Studies in honour of Henry Drisler), New York, 1894.

10 Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, by A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, New York ; 1899 ; (with a splendid map).

11 Journal of the American Oriental Society, xv., xvi., xvii.

the modern Persian language, which is chiefly based on the above-mentioned works, and at the same time he submits the relation of the legend to a comparison with the text of the Awesta.

As Jackson evidently intended to supply the complete material for the investigation of the life of Zarathuštra, he presents the legend to us with the suppression of all the positive incongruities quoted at length; this one accepts with gratitude, but with the reserve that they have no historical worth, and it only gives information of the manner in which such an edifying work of exegetical essays can be put together, by the help of ancient traditions preserved in the sanctuaries We could have wished that the author had laid more stress on the unreliability of the legend, which he admits (p. 141); instead of arousing the impression that he himself believed in the details.

There is surely no sense in tracing out plans of battles (pp. 120—122) for which a poet, even were he Firdausi, had used a picture of his own fancy for a basis; for Firdausi could not possibly know the tradition of the battle with Arjāsp in Khorāsān (pp. 118, 119). It is also hardly necessary, because of Pythagoras, to refer to the Desātir written in 1818, and on account of the murder of the Prophet, to quote authorities like Majdi (end of 16th century, p. 131.); neither he, nor Firdausi, could supply a single historical note, if it were not in the Awesta, for neither of them had any other source. Only to some extent, impartial accompanying statements, particularly those that contradict the legend, offer some certainty that they are not influenced by it, and may have some historical character.

How much nonsense a complete collection of all the wisdom produced by wiseacres about Zoroaster offers, appears, among the rest, from the opinion, upheld by monkish narrow-mindedness and Jewish presumption, that Zaroaster was Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah. Tabarī also notices this opinion (648, 10), and Bishop Jesudādh (about 852), in a commentary on Mat. ii. 1, on the Magi, makes the remark, that "this Jewish renegade wrote that vomit of Satan, the book of Abhashtā." As Jackson remarks (pp. 165, 166), the similarity of the

Syriac name Ermayē (Jeremiah) and Urmiyā, the birthplace of Zarathuštra, has, no doubt, given rise to this discovery.

What is known of the conditions of life of the Prophet amounts to very little ; his descent from Airyana-vaējō, his residence at the court of his protector Wištāspa, the names of a number of members of his family and of the prince's court are noticed in the oldest parts of the Awesta, in the Gāthā poems, or metrical sermon-psalms, written in the Atropatenian dialect. The other portions of the Awesta describe him as already a saint, and can therefore be quoted for many facts in the history of the religion, but cannot be considered as a source for biographical details.

As Zaruthuštra's patron did not belong to the line of the Median great kings, it is difficult to fix the time of the founding of the religion; therefore one is surprised to find in Jackson's work that he gives exact dates, not only for Zarathustra's life in general but also of separate events, his missionary travels to countries not exactly defined geographically (p. 207), as also a battle of the religious war.

Dr. West, the chief expert in Sāsānian Pahlawi literature (which Jackson compares to the Patristic literature of the Christian church), has lately examined the artificial holy chronology of the Parsi priests, that had been partly known for a long time in the Bundahishn (a cosmography), and which he has illustrated[1] in a chronological table of holy events. According to it, the time of the founding of the religion was 300 years before the burning of Persepolis by Alexander, that is in the year 630 B. C.[2] The figures are variously given, those derived from Pahlawi books, or authors instructed by the Magi of the time soon after the downfall of the Sāsānian dynasty, even Tabari and Firdausi, give the years 300, 280 and 258. The variation may arise from this, that sometimes they had had the birth of Zarathuštra in their mind's eye, sometimes the founding of the religion, and sometimes the conversion of Wištāspa, or the death of the Prophet.

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[12] Pahlavi Texts V, Oxford 1897, p. XXVII. *seq.*; Jackson, p. 179. See also on that date, Sheriarji D. Bharucha in Cama Memorial Volume, p. 1.

One cannot designate this chronology, as has been done lately, "a deplorable fabrication," for these figures make a fairly correct impression, as they are moderate, compared with the improbable estimates of time by other religions, and because the occurrence of the founding of the religion would then coincide with the culminating point of the Median dominion. It is quite possible that, at Alexander's time, people still possessed data for estimating the age of the religion ; or, just as in Islam, the years were first counted from some definite event, and that this important knowledge was preserved till the construction of the holy chronology.

Already Hyde and Anquetil du Perron, and recently Geldner, [13] have accepted the reckoning of the Magi as correct. For separate items this artificial system is untrustworthy ; it is also suspicious that exactly 1,000 years after the proclamation of the religion, the Awesta was edited anew by command of Sapor II, and furnished with a complete translation in the Pahlawi language, under the direction of the supreme high-priest Atūrpāt (Ātropates) Mahraspend, whose son Zarathuštra followed his father in his priestly office in the year 371 and could, therefore, pass as the Prophet Ukhshyad-ereta (Oshēdarbāmī), appearing 1,000 years after the founding of the religion. [14] Yet, at the same time, the idea would not lie far away that by the establishment of the strict doctrine of the Magi, the re-writing of the Awesta and its translation into the Sāsānian language, undertaken by the Sasanids, they had really had at first the intention to erect, in this great work, a landmark and memorial, just at the epoch of the end of the first and beginning of the second millennium.

The error, already noticed by Masūdi, that the Parthians have only 284 years in the chronicle is compensated for by the traditionally great length of the reigns of Wištāsp and his grandson Bahman. The

[13] Grundriss der irānischen Philologie, II, 37. Compare Spiegel, Eranische Alterthumskunde, I, 193. Zeitschrift der morgenländ. Gesellschaft, XLV, 202. Justi, Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung, München, 11. Nov. 1888.

[14] West, Pahlavi Texts V., p. XXXVII. On Atūrpāt see Livre d'Ardā-Virāf trad. par M. A. Barthélemy, Paris 1887, p. 143.

Muhammadan authors, particularly Al-Bērūni, who is here of great authority, accept the Persian chronology as correct, and it is known that the Persians have been in possession of an exact calendar since 1075 (the era of Jelāl-ud-dīn Melekshāh), which proves their competence for such calculation.[15]

Greek and Roman references contain important statements conducive to a knowledge of the Zoroastrian religion and of its founder, and are particularly valuable, because the periods in which the writers lived are known, and their statements can, therefore, be applied to a temporary, definable phase of the religion; whereas among the present day professors of the religion, the Parsis in India, one finds their latest phases. We know, for instance, from many authors, that in Irān the dead were neither burnt or buried, but exposed on tower-like edifices to be devoured by wild beasts and birds of prey, as is still the case among the Parsis of to-day. That this custom prevailed at the time of the Sāsānians, yea even of the Parthians, is authenticated by the contemporary works of Justinus, Prokopios and Agathias. On the other hand, we learn from the older writers, Herodotos, Xenophon, and Arrianos, that, till the time of Alexander, the Persians buried their dead, and only the Median Magi exposed them; that these statements are accurate, is proved by the fact of stone sepulchres existing among the Achæmenians, and the mention of burying and burning the dead in Arachosia and Khorāsān (Chakhra) in the Awesta.[16] And from this we may draw the conclusion that the Median custom extended only by degrees over Iran, and was particularly propagated by the Sāsānians who, by the help of the Magi (to whom their ancestor belonged),[17] spread the strict observance of this custom through the kingdom.

[15] Ideler, Handbuch der Chronologie, II, 524. Prinsep, Essays on Indian Antiquities, Thomas, Useful Tables, p. 142. West, Grundriss der irânischen Philologie, II. p. 121. Hyde, Veter. Pers. Relig. Historia, p. 194.

[16] Wendidad I, 12 (48). 16 (66).

[17] The prince of Istakhr (Persepolis) is called on pre-Sāsānian coins Fratakara ("the Firemaker"), later, *al-Hirbadh* ("the Priest"), anno 638, 644, Tabari 2546, 17. Belādhori, ed. J. deGoeje 388, 11.

All statements of the ancients, and of non-Zoroastrian eastern writers, are thrown into the shade by what the holy scripture of the Magi, the Awesta, declares, which has been gained for science only in modern times, and the manuscripts of which are chiefly in Bombay, Paris, Oxford and Copenhagen. It has been edited in Europe by Spiegel, Westergaard and Geldner, and translated by Spiegel, C. de Harlez, Darmesteter, Mills and others. As its oldest portion, the Awesta contains the already-mentioned Gāthās which, as the Awesta expressly mentions (Yasna 57, 8), and which is universally allowed, originated among the disciples of Zarathuštra. The other components of the Yasna and Wisperad, liturgical invocations of the higher beings, and the Wendīdād or the Law, group themselves round the Gāthās, and become a book of the rules of worship and practice of sacrifices, but belong to a much later age. Still later appeared the Yashts or sacrificial prayers for household use, which point to a later form of religion with a leaning to polytheism, and contain, besides the hymns of praise to the genii and divine beings, many accounts of heroic myths, partly of Parthian and partly of Sāsānian times.[18]

Any one who wishes to use the legend of Zoroaster for an historical representation of the life of the Prophet, must investigate its relation to the Awesta, with which, as is usual in such literary works, it is connected partly by natural and partly by mystical interpretations. The legend only seldom touches the real meaning of the religion, when it mentions the cause of the introduction of a religious custom or the genesis of a doctrine, but engages itself more with the birth of the founder, which is related as an event that the Deity had prepared for the salvation of mankind, and arranged to take place with extraordinary circumstances and miracles. The new-born child laughs instead of crying, and his brain beats so violently that it repels a hand laid upon it; a token which is attested by Pliny[19] already at the beginning of our era.

[18] In Yasht XIII. 106, Atūrpāt is mentioned by the title of *Rāstare-vaṅhent*; compare West, Pahlavi Texts V, p. XXXVI.

[19] Plinius, Hist. Nat. 7, 15.

The spiritual development of the Prophet is effected not only by the natural cultivation of his talents, but also by inspiration for which he is prepared by ascetic exercises in the wilderness; just as in the book of Ardā-Wīrāf, even so a narcotic (*mang*, "hemp") helps this holy man to the vision of heaven and hell.[20]

How untrustworthy this legend (which has already been critically treated by Spiegel)[21] is from an historical point of view, is shown by the attempt to connect Artaxerxes I (Ardashīr-dirāzdast) with Isfendiār, the son of Wīštāspa; whereby it is sought to connect this prince, or Danghupaiti, in Media, with the dynasty of the Achæmenians, of whose glorious names the tradition of the Median priests, besides Ardashīr, has still preserved only the two Dārās, father and son (Darius I. and III). We, therefore, prefer to go back to the Awesta, the source of the Zartusht Nāmah, although we have to satisfy our thirst for knowledge with fewer, but more trustworthy statements; and the sacred book itself would be an exception to all writings of this class, if it did not separate the sacred from the profane impulse, and express mysteries in mythological symbols.

Not only the *Karapan* and *Kawi*, (the priests of the old religion and their followers the princes) mentioned in the Gāthās, already lay snares for the child, but also from wolves (often mentioned in the Awesta) and wild horses, and even danger from fire, the child is miraculously delivered; and in manhood Zarathuštra has to endure temptation by the devil himself. The legend exhibits the soul's struggle, which the renunciation of the faith of his fathers and the conviction of the truth of the new doctrine occasioned as outward occurrences of the appearance of the tempter, because religiously excited conditions could really produce visions of this kind.

The Book of the Law contains the oldest version, originally a portion of the Spend Nask (according to the classification of the whole Awesta into 21 Nasks, or books,[22]) which contained the history of

20 Livre d'Ardā-Vīrāf, trad. par Barthélemy XIX, 6, 147, 149.

21 Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. baiyerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 5 Jan. 1867.

22 Geldner, Grundriss der iran. Phil., II, 17.

Zarathuštra. That this passage is, however, one of the latest portions of the Avesta follows from this, that to words out of the old books is attributed the witchcraft for scaring away the demons and that the language is already treated artificially, as the grammatical error at the very beginning reveals, where it is said : " Kill, O holy Zarathuštra !" instead of "the holy Zarathuštra". The vocative appears in nearly all the MSS., and is undoubtedly the original reading ; the copyist was used to the vocative, as it occurs hundreds of times in the conversational structure of the Book of the Law. A scholar, whom the error surprised, corrected it by using the nominative:[23] " Kill, the holy Zoroaster." The incorrect use of the Median language is often apparent.

To give an example of the style of the original legend, the extract here translated may suffice: —[24]

"From the north region, out of the north regions, rushed Angra-Mainyu (Ahriman), the death-fraught devil of devils (*daēwa*, Pers. *diw*). Thus spoke the evil-intending Angra-mainyu, the death-fraught one: 'Fiend! rush here, kill the holy Zarathuštra.' The fiend rushes around him, the devil Būiti, the creeping destruction,[25] the evil-intending.

"Zarathuštra recited the (prayer) Ahuna-Vairya ('as the desired guide,' etc.), 'honoured the good waters of the good Dāitya,[26] acknowledged the Mazdayasnian religion.'[27] The fiend rushed away from him confounded, the devil Būiti, the creeping destruction, the evil-intending.

"The fiend spoke to him : 'Thou tormentor, Angra-mainyu ! I can see no death in him, the Spitama Zarathuštra. Much glory of light has the holy Zarathustra.' Zarathuštra perceived in his mind : 'The fiendish demons are plotting my death.'

"Up started Zarathuštra, forward stepped Zarathuštra, uninjured by evil thought, through the severity of the malicious questions, holding

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[23] For the accusative.

[24] Wendidad XIX., 1 *seq.* Jackson, p. 51.

[25] According to later opinion, *ithyejo* (Pers. *sej*) is a demon who endeavours to bring destruction upon the house in which an infant lives ; he flees from the crowing of a cock.

[26] The river in Airyanem Waējō.

[27] The religion that worships Ahura Mazda (Ormazd).

stones in his hands, stones[28] as big as a house; he, the holy Zarathuštra, had received them from the Creator, Ahura Mazda: 'Where hadst thou them on this earth, the broad, round and far-ending, in the house of Pourushaspa, on the bank of the Dareji?'[29]

"Zarathustra replied to Angra-mainyu: 'O evil-intending Angra-mainyu! I will smite the creation produced by the devils, I will smite the corpse-phantom created by the devils, I will smite the Pairika (sorceress, fairy) who is worshipped(?), until the Saviour, the victorious, shall be born from the water of Kānsaoya[30] from the eastern region, out of the eastern regions.'

"Thereupon answered him the lord of the evil creation: 'Destroy not my creatures, O holy Zarathuštra! Thou art the son of Pourushaspa, by thy mother was I invoked; abjure the good Mazdayasnian religion, so that thou mayest gain the favour which the monarch Wadhaghna[31] has obtained.'

"Him answered Spitāma Zarathuštra: 'I will not abjure the good Mazdayasnian religion, even if body, life, and consciousness be sundered.'

"To him retorted Angra-mainyu, the lord of the evil creation: 'With whose word wilt thou vanquish, with whose word wilt thou drive away, through what weapon (will) the good creatures (vanquish) the creatures of me, Angra-mainyu?'

"Spitāma Zarathuštra answered him: 'The mortar, cup, and *haoma* (the holy draught prepared in the mortar and poured into the

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28 The Parsis explain this term as "a stone-weapon," and by *nogara*, which means a shepherd's crook with nine knots(?) that would imply Pers. *nuh-girih*.

29 The construction and meaning of this sentence are difficult. Perhaps the writer meant to say: how camest thou from thy father's house, to conquer for thyself, with this stone-weapon, the whole world, over which the power of us demons is spread? According to the Būndahishn and the Selections of Zāt-sparam, Dareji is the river in Airyana-vaējō, on whose banks the father of the prophet lived. The identification with the Darjā-i-Urd (Darmesteter) rests on the error that took the j (= y) in Darjā (Pers. for "river") for the French j; see Jackson, 193—5

30 The lake of Segestān (Sistān).

31 A name of the tyrant Dahāka, see 'The Dinā ī Maīnū i Khrat', edited by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjānā, Bombay, 1895, p. 80, 3. Iranisches Namenbuch, 332, 337.

cup) and the word spoken by Mazda are my best weapons; with this word will I vanquish, with this word will I drive away, with this weapon (will strike) the well-created ones (thy creations), O evil-thinking Angra-mainyu! (The word and weapon) the holy spirit created; he created them in boundless time; they were created by the holy immortals (Ameshaspends), the good rulers, the very wise ones.'

"Zarathuštra recited the prayer Ahuna-Vairya."

After a lengthy interpolation, this history of the temptation closes with the account of the disappearance of the evil spirits, as it is written in another place.[32] "Thou causedst all the demons to hide themselves in the earth." "Thus spoke the evil-thinking Angra-mainyu, the death-fraught one: 'What shall we bring together, through collecting, we wicked devils, we evil-thinking ones, on the head (skull) of the Arezūra?'[33]

> "Hither they rushed, they consulted the devils, the wicked evil-thinking ones; they lamented, they consulted the devils, the wicked evil-thinking ones; they cast the evil eye, the devils, the wicked evil-thinking ones.

'This will we bring together by collecting on the head of the Arezūra. Born is, alas! the holy Zarathuštra, in the house of Pourushaspa; how may we procure his death? He will be a blow to the devils, an adversary of the devils, he the fiend's antagonist; down fall the devil's imps, the corpse-spectre (*nasus*) created by the devil, and the deceitfully-spoken lie.'"[34]

If we look away from the mythical parts of the legend, then it is of particular importance that they state that Zoroaster was born and prepared for his prophetic career in Atropatene; but later let him take

[32] Yasna IX, 16 (46).

[33] The mountain at the entrance to hell on the Demâwend.

[34] Several expressions are used in this clause, which are only used for evil spirits: the devils do not walk, they rush; they do not speak, but howl; they have no head, no eye, no hand, but a skull, a squinter, a paw, etc. Also, in ancient Persian, the word *kāra* "state-army") is related to the German Heer, but a hostile army is *haina* (Sanskrit *senā*).

refuge with Wīštāspa, the king of Bactria. This opinion stands midway between two others. In the beginning of these researches, when people still defended the hypothesis, although supported by no single historical tradition or anthropological fact, that the Indo-Germans had originated from Central Asia, Zoroaster passed for a Bactrian who lived in the year 1200, and his doctrine was said to have extended itself westward by degrees. The other opinion endeavours to prove the proposition that Zoroaster had never been in Bactria, and that the religion of the Zoroastrians, or Magianism, has proceeded from Media.

The evidence is, therefore, somewhat complicated, as the legend has transferred Wištāspa to Bactria, and, on account of the connection of his dynasty with the Achæmenian, even let him issue from Persis. The contradictions of facts, which the legend has not regarded, are so numerous that we are well enabled to discover the real circumstances.

The question of the origin of the religion of the Awesta is not only important for its own history, but also for the history of religion in general, as Zoroaster's achievement records an important and effective step for the development of religious thought in mankind, beyond the worship of nature, and other preliminaries of a pure understanding of God, onwards to a contemplation of a world of higher moral capacity.[35]

Man is no more called into existence by the caprice of a wrathful despot, to be shortly afterwards (according to the impulses that had been planted in him) condemned to everlasting ruin, or destined for eternal bliss which cannot be so to us as long as we know our brother is tortured by hell-fires. But he is, through the fulfilment of his duties, through founding a family, cultivation of the land, resistance of harmful violence in nature, through advancement of prosperity, and thereby rendering charity, intended for the partisan of the heavenly beings, which, under the guidance of the Creator, endeavour to remove the obstacles prepared by the evil ones for the coming of God's Kingdom.

[35] Compare Mills' copious essay in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1899, p. 273.

The Persians have been educated, by the teacher of their religion, for rulers and heroes, not for slaves and monks. Yea, even in paradise that arises, on the earth itself, out of the ashes of a great universal fire, destroying sin and the devil, the pious Mazda-worshipper, with his relations, will wander in the unfading garden of trees (Paradeisos) that he once planted here on earth, and will enjoy other pleasures, to which he had himself laid the foundation during his earthly existence. The Persian religion, certainly like others, much injured in its purity by the people who hate the sublime, and by the rulers who make it useful for their own purposes, has once lent to the declining heathenism of the West a last support by their Mithra-mysteries ; and, through the Gnostic dualism of Mānī, put the Christianity into excitement.

The following particulars are intended, partly to substantiate Jackson's views through some further details, partly, where he has hesitated between two opposing views, to indicate the right one.

Nobody now believes that Zoroaster may be a mythical figure, as was once affirmed. The names of his family, mentioned in the Awesta, have no religious or mythological signification, as would be the case if they were invented. Of the ancestors mentioned in his pedigree,[36] Haēchadaspa occurs in the Gāthās, Chakhshni and Pourushaspa in other portions of the Awesta ; the family is called *Spitamāonhō* in the Gāthās, which reminds one of the Median Spitamās, the husband of Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, who was probably a descendant of Zoroaster and the Zarathushtrotema (*Mas-ī-Mughân*), the great priest of Ragha, and by his high rank the son-in-law of the Median King.

These names show, firstly, the descent from Media (Atropatene); secondly, that the family belonged to the nobility, as only nobles, or Dihkans, bear names ending with *aspa* (" horse "). Zoroaster's name means " one possessing old camels " (or quiet camels, grown grey in service)[37] ; it appears that the need was felt to give him a more

[36] Jackson, *seq.* 18. Iranisches Namenbuch, 393

[37] Bartholomae, Grundriss der Iran.Phil. I. 182, n. 44. Jackson, 12, 13.

spiritual name, and they therefore called him Zōroastrēs, one half of which name would be the Greek pronunciation of Awesta *zāvare* (power, Persian *zōr*), the other half, a version of *yashtār* (the sacrificer):—"whose sacrifice has strength, or effect." Also the name Zathraustes, quoted by Diodoros, seems to contain another interpretation of the name:—*Zāthra-wahishta* (like Tithraustes = *Chithra-wahishta*), "the best by birth," with reference to his marvellous birth.

The country in which Zoroaster was born, and where he prepared himself for his ministry, is, according to the legend and the Awesta, *Airyanem-vaējō*, which comprises the countries between Armenia, the Caspian Sea, and great Media. This name is the Awetic term for Atropatene (Pahlawi, *Aturpātakān*, now Ādharbaijān), a country called after Atropates, the prince of the Kadusians and Sakesines, who was said, as it seems, a descendant of Ātarepāta, the son of Wištāspa. Atropates was confirmed in the possession of his land by Alexander, and founded a dynasty, whose capital, during the summer, had become Phraaspa, or Shīz, and during the winter Gandzak (now Leilan); and whose last descendant, Artawazd (Aw. *Ashawazdah*), after his father's dethronement (A. D. 10), died in Rome when 39 years old.

If the Awestic term should really describe the Aryan source, or mother-land (*vaējō* is explained by *kān*, "pit or mine"[38]), then the naming would agree with the oldest habitations of the Māda and Parsua at the time of the later kings of Assyria, and the scene of the founding of the kingdom of Media; for it might already have disappeared from their recollection that both nations had originally immigrated from further east. The name Ariana is still used by Apollodoros to designate the country contiguous to the land of the Kadusians (Gīlān)[39].

By collecting all the accounts of the ancients (among which those that are not influenced by the legend are the most important), the

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38 Therefore the 'officina Ariorum,' comp. Jordanis Getica, ed. Mommsen, IV, 25, p. 60. Spiegel, Commentar ueber das Awesta, I. 8. It cannot be the same thing as Pers. *bikh*, "root."

39 Stephanos Byzant. *s. v.* Ariania; comp. Strabo XV. 2, 8.

Zoroastrian writings of ancient and modern times, and those of the Muhammadan geographers and chroniclers[40], who usually call Urmiah the town of Zaradusht, Jackson has provided an overwhelming refutation of the formerly accepted view, that Zoroaster's descent and doctrine and the language of the Awesta had proceeded from Bactria. This view (now relegated to the lumber-room) about the founder of Magianism and the head of the Median priests, the *moghu*, ancient Persian *magu*, Armenian, from the Median, *mog*, whose official name was *athrava*, "priest of fire," πύραιθος,[41] arises from this, that the legend transfers to Balkh (Baktra) the residence of King Wištāspa, to whose court the prophet proceeds from Āturpātakān. The reason of this will become evident later on.

That some ancient authors also speak incorrectly of Bactria appears from the fable of Ktesias, preserved by Diodoros, according to which Ninos and Semiramis defeated King Oxyartes of Bactria. Other writers (instead of the Oxyartes, father of Roxane, who first appeared in the text in Alexander's time) have the Zoroastres, or Zathraustes, intended by Ktesias, as well as Diodoros. A few writers add Magus to the names, to support the error.

Bactria is here chosen as the outermost land in the east (as Egypt and the land of the Scythians are in the west and north), and accepted by Ktesias to produce a really great impression. An Assyrian army never penetrated beyond the Caspian Gates, and neither a Ninos (the hero of the City of Nineveh, Greek Ninos),[42] nor a Semiramis (the human form of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh), has reigned over Assyria.

Also the attempt, through a very uncertain reference to the campaigns of the Assyrian Shamsi-Adad, who (B. C. 820) captured the king of Gizilbunda, and defeated the Medes there, at the "white moun-

[40] Hamadhānī (Biblioth. Geograph. Arab. V, 285, 5. 286, 3. Ibn Khurdād-bih (*ib.* VI) 119, 17, 121, 12, note *h*.

[41] Rapp, Zeitschrift der Morgenl. Ges. 19, 21. C. de Harlez, Verhandl. d. Berliner Orientalisten Congresses, Berlin, 1882, II, 2, 272.

[42] Eusebios, see Jackson 243; comp. Gilmore, Ktesias, Lond. 1888, p. 20, 29 *seq.*

tain" (*shadi pisi*), the Kiz Kapān, westward from Takht-i Suleimān, or Shīz,[43] and to Shammuramat, the wife of Adad-Nirari, B. C. 811—782 (who likewise made war in Media), to find an historical background for the Ktesian fable, would be to accord it too much honour.

Even an author so generally trustworthy as Ammianus Marcellinus, who, as participator in Julian's campaign in Persia, would be able to make enquiries, says that the Bactrian Zoroaster has added much out of the secrets of the Chaldees to Magianism; but Hystaspes, the wise father of Darius, had appropriated, in India, the knowledge of the Brahmans about the path of the stars, and of the earth, and about prophecies; nevertheless Ammianus cannot have heard this from Persians, who never speak of a Bactrian Zoroaster, but only of Spitama, or *ashava* ("pure, holy") Zarathuštra, later of Zaradusht from Ādharbaijān; but his words are only a reminiscence from Trogus.[44]

Moses of Khorni, who preserved many absurdities, is disconcerted by the passage, quoted from Africanus (and further on by Kephalion), of the Berosian Sibylla,[45] where *Zradasht Mog arkay Baktriatsvots*, is called king of the Bactrians, and adds, in explanation, "that is, of the Medes"; and again (I, 17) he calls Zoroaster a Magian and chief of the Medes (*Markh*), and states that he is made governor of Nineveh and Assyria by Semiramis, because she wishes to go for her recreation to Armenia, where she has built Shamiramakert, or Wan. As Zoroaster tries to make himself independent, the queen marches against him, but is defeated and slain by her son Ninyas.

The comment of Moses, whereby he here takes the Bactrians for Medes, might lead to the source of the original Ktesian error. The Persian Empire, or *Airān-khshathr* (Pers. *Irān-shahr*, Awesta. *Airyanām khshathrem*), was divided into four groups of provinces, or countries,

[43] Billerbeck, das Sandschak Suleimania; Leipzig, 1898, p. 66.

[44] Justinus, I, 1, 9. The Brahmans, besides the Magians, name him so; also Nearch in Strabo, 15, 1. 59, 61 66. Arrian 6, 16, 5. Appianus, de bello civili II. c. 54.

[45] Jackson, p. 187.

named after the four quarters of the heavens, and governed by four Spāhpets (ancient Persian, *spādhapati*), commanders-in-chief, or governing field-marshals. The northern of these provinces contained Media and Atropatene, and is called by Khurdadbih and others that of Ādharbādhakān, or Ādharbaijān;[46] but, by Ibn Rosteh and Masudi, *Bākhtar*, "the north"[47] (Pahlawi, *apākhtar;* Awesta, *apākhtara*). In the so-called geography of Moses are also mentioned "the Scythians who are Apakhtarkh, that is, Turks." As Ktesias lived 17 years in Persia and understood the language, it might be thought that, in his cursory manner, he had taken Apākhtara for Bākhtra. Also to Moses, who lived in the time of the Sāsānians, when Armenia was under Persian rule, the expression for the "North," and its applicability to Media, must have been known and may have occasioned his remark. It is worthy of notice that Burnouf,[48] by the name Bactra, refers to that Bākhtar.

Besides the literary evidences, fully collected and commented on by Jackson, there are also historical relations to consider. Without an impulse from outside, no religion usually changes much, or is replaced by another. Putting aside missions, which aim at the introduction of a new religion into foreign lands, religious opinions also spread unnoticed from land to land, by the intercourse of nations, and especially nations of lesser civilization accept, from their more important neighbours, useful knowledge, skill, instruction relating to the nature of things, and the religious views which were connected with these things in ancient times, because by these means they procure a pleasanter existence, and are able to gratify their curiosity about many phenomena in heaven and earth. The religion and mythology of the Greeks is inconceivable without their intercourse with Asia Minor and Egypt; how should the Medes, and still more the Bactrians, who were far

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[46] Tabari 894, in Nöldeke, Tabari's History of the Persians, 155. J. de Goeje Biblioth. Geograph. Arab. VI, 118.

[47] J. de Goeje, Bibl. VII, 103, 22. VIII, 31, 6.

[48] Commentaire sur le Yaçna. Paris, 1835. Notes, p. cxii.

removed, in ancient times, from the cultivated States which were making the history of the world, without having received such an impulse, have arrived at making an alteration in their old Aryan religion that had been sufficient for their social circumstances. In India the change of religion occurred indeed without foreign incitation, but went hand in hand with an immense convulsion of the people who were confined by the system of caste, and suffering under oppression by the priests. The Medes, and after them the Persians, already early in contact with the Assyrians and Susians, became, by their conquest, the heirs of the ancient Mesopotamian and Western Asiatic civilization, and it could not be long before the religions of the nations, conquered by them, also excited their attention.

The most ancient Great-King had already established a mighty empire, after the Assyrian model, by the union of small principalities, and surrounded the royal castle of Agbatana, in which he shut himself with a sevenfold wall, whose battlements were painted with the colours of the planets.[49] This statement, even if it should be uncertain, proves that the Babylonian star-worship had spread out over Iran. And to that the *Chaldaeorum arcana* of Ammianus could most appropriately refer.

In the Zoroastrian religion the reverence of stars is certainly not very conspicuous; in the cosmic system the planets are the enemies of the fixed stars, because, according to the dualistic view of the world, the army of heaven is drawn into the conflict of good and evil, and, exactly like the Persian empire and army, remains under four Spādhapatis, among whom Hapto-iringa, or "the seven stars," as Spādhapati of the North, is the opponent of the planet Mars (Wahrām).[50] This view, however, appeared late; in the oldest portions of the Awesta there is no occasion to mention any other astronomical events than the course of the sun and stars, and the waxing and waning of the moon[51].

[49] Herodotus, 1, 98.
[50] Bundahishn (Westerg.), p. 7, l. 7; p. 12, l. 19.
[51] Yasna, XLIV., 3.

The manner in which the Deity makes use of the mouth of a seer and prophet to impart revelations and holy laws to the faithful, is peculiarly developed with the Semites, though seers also appear in the Weda, whose words are inspired. The system of oracles, or the communication of the will of the gods, through dreams, signs and precepts to mankind, is an important religious institution with the Hellenes, but of which the Greeks themselves said, that the oldest oracle existed in Meroë in Nubia; yet the direct communication between God and the prophets is really a Semitic view, and Zoroaster reminds us of this when, in the Book of the Law, or Wendidād, he asks Ahura Mazdā, and the latter, in his answers, communicates the Law to him. It certainly cannot be proved that this circumstance was very ancient, and in the anthems, originating from Zoroaster and his immediate followers, there is only one poem (Yasna XLIV) whose twenty strophes contain questions of Zoroaster to Ahura, which, however, are not answered, because every answer would repeat the thought that Ahura Mazda is the author of all things mentioned in the questions. Still it is not impossible, that the later favourite dialogistic form has been constructed on the model of this ancient poem.

As Spiegel has remarked, the doctrine of sin and holiness (in the first place cleanliness of the body, then freedom from moral contamination) also reminds one of Semitic ideas; and Hyde[52] points to the resemblance of the Zoroastrian and the Christian Hierarchy. By these details one comes, however, no further onward than a general impression; and the Iranian religion is rooted too deeply in the nature of the country, and of the views about nature of its followers, and is far too peculiarly and independently developed to allow of the entry of strange elements.

"Great men are the children of their age. Heirs to the heritage of the past, they are charged with the stewardship of the possessions to be handed down to the future. Summing up, within the teaching of a

[52] Veterum Persarum relig. hist., 354.

prophet is the voice of the age in which he lives; his preaching is the echo of the heart of the people of his day. The era of a prophet is, therefore, not without its historic significance, it is an event that marks an epoch in the life of mankind."[53]

Important, however, here is the cult of the *sacred fire*,[54] which is characteristic of the Zoroastrian religion; while other Indo-Germans, indeed, worshipped, as holy, the hearth-fire (the Hestia or Vesta) burnt in the perpetual lamps of their temples, the Iranians, however, as is known, connected it with the naphtha springs which are found chiefly in the neighbourhood of Tiflis, Sāliān, Shemākhā, and Bākū,[55] with the peninsula of Apsheron, and the island Swjatoi, therefore in Airyanem Waējō; even on the other side of the Caucasus, in the province of the upper Kuban, or Hypanis, in the country of the fire-worshippers the Sauromates,[56] who came from Media; in Assyria, to the south of Arbela near Demetrias, where naphtha and petroleum springs are mentioned in the temple of the Nanaia to the north of the residence of Dareios I. Sadrakae (Tel Ser[57]), also at Nimrud and at the other side in Sinn,[58] at el-Fathah, where the river Tigris traverses the mountains of Hamrīn,[59] at Kirkuk or Mennis and Kufri, at Tūz Khurmatu,[60] between these two places, at Mendeli, to the east of Baghdād on the Pusht-i-Kuh,[61] in Babylonia at Hit on the Euphrates.[62] Zoroaster must have found the worship of fire as a holy spirit, to be already in existence in those parts and changed this into the doctrine, that fire, "the son of Ahuri Mazdā," was the emanation and the earthly sign of the sacred spirit

[53] Jackson, 150. Compare the grand account of the Jewish prophecy in Wellhausen's Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte, Berlin 1895, 108.

[54] Istakhri (J. de Goeje, Geogr. Arab. I.,, 190.

[55] Masūdi, Kitāb at-tanbīh (*ib.* VIII.) 6[illegible], 13 *seq.*

[56] Clemens. Alex., ed. Frid. Sylburg. Lugd. Batav. 1616, p. 32, l. 37.

[57] Strabo 738, ed. Meineke, 1028, 20.

[58] Map of Jones, Journ. Asiat. Soc. XV.

[59] Chesney, Expedition to the river Euphrates, Map No. 6.

[60] Curtius, 5, 1, 16. Ker Porter. Tra[illegible]. 440. Rich, Koordistan 1, 22. 31. 2, 277.

[61] Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1874, [illegible], Heft 9, p. 344. Comp. Brisson, III, 94.

[62] Plutarch's Alexander, Chap. XXXV. Comp. Maunsell, Proceedings, Geog. Soc. 9 (1897) 528.

of light, and in which he manifested himself to his worshippers, or, as Firdusi says, "Fire is not a God, but the Mihrab," or, according to the words of Nāsir Khusrau, "the Kiblah or prayer-niche of the Dihkān."[63] Belʿami[64] asserts, indeed, that the fire-cult comes from Atropatene, and Shahrastāni,[65] the historian of Oriental religions, agrees with Firdūsi, that the fire-temples are more ancient than Zoroaster and that the Parsi books and Firdūsi are not making an anachronism in stating that the pre-Zoroastrian kings built houses for the fire. The worship of fire by the Assyrians is shown by their monuments in the palace of Sanherib at Koyundjik, Nineveh.[66] Samuel Johnson[67] refers to the naphtha springs and calls Iran the fire-temple of the world, but at the same time considers Bactria as the home of Zoroaster and of the Awesta, and gives as his reason the limitation of sacred geography to the east, and the placing of the wicked in the west. In the same way that this fire-cult points to Atropatene and Media as the original seat of the Magian religion, the legends and traditions take this north Iranian land as their scene of action. At the time of the Kawi-dynasty mention is often made of the Dīws of Māzenderān (in Awesta : *daewa māzainya*), who were especially attacked by Kai Kāūs (*Kawa Usa*). Dīws are usually demons, also animals, like lions, wild-asses and locusts, also powerful enemies of man, often with the attributes of other races ; Tahmurath, the Tamer of Dīws, had himself been instructed by them in handwriting. Jamshēd made them build brick buildings, which points directly to the fact of the introduction of these things from foreign countries.[68] Firdusi calls the King of the Slavs, Shāh-i Seklāb, but the Barzū-nāmeh calls him Dīw-i-Seklāb, and the Russians are called Khākāni Dīws or *dīw-lashkerān* or armies of devils.[69] The Mazenderanis, the neigh-

[63] Firdūsi, 1386, 2235. Etbé, Göttinger Nachrichten, 1882, 149, 14.

[64] Tabari transl. by Zotenberg, 3, 494.

[65] Ed. Haarbrücker Halle, 1850, 1, 281, 298.

[66] Layard, Nineveh and its remains, II, 441, 467. Monuments of Nineveh II, 24.

[67] Oriental Religions, Persia. Lond. 1885, p. 24. 30. 125. 144.

[68] Firdusi, 22, 44, 24, 34.

[69] Dorn, Caspia (Mem. de l'Acad., Imp. XXIII), Petersburg, 1875, p. 305, 60*b*.

bouring people to Atropatene, are a race that, like the Kadusians in ancient times, always defended their independence and whose country was protected by the high mountains of Alburz (*Hara-berezaiti*) and the swamps of the lowlands. A mountain to the west of Āmul was formerly crowned by a fortress, Ispīrīz or Asprōz, whose commander, the Dīw-i-sepīd (the white devil) of Kūjūr was only conquered by Rustam after sustaining many dangerous adventures.[70] If the dynasty had originally been considered to be in Bactria, one would have more probably let them take the war-path against the robber tribes in Paropanisos. Even the most ancient recollections and legends are connected with places in the mountainous countries to the south of the Caspian Sea: the hero Thraetaona (*i.e.*, who possesses threefold strength) is born at Warena Chathrugaosha (the four-cornered), that is in Warek, three Farsangs east of Sāri,[71] which is also called Gosh.[72] From the smith Kāweh of Ispāhān, who first goes to help Ferīdūn (Thraētaona), are descended the Kārin who rule over Tabaristān. Ferīdūn carries the conquered tyrant Zahhāk (Azhi-dahāka) to Shērchwan[73]; his grave is in Tammīsha, which was on the borders of Tabaristān and Gurgān, 16 Farsangs from Sāri in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea.[74] His sons are buried in Sāri.[75] That this is a very ancient account is proved by the fact, that no other place in Irān has claimed the honour, as is usually the case with saints and their bones. The Kai Kāūs fell from his balloon to earth at Āmul

70 Firdusi, 325, 169. 327, 196. Rustam's Journey to Māzenderān is the prototype of Ispendiār's Adventures to the bronze castle (*Diz-i-rūīn*) or Paikand in Tūrān (Marquart, Zeitschrift Morgenl. Gesellsch. 49, 639). Comp. Zahir-ed-dīn ed. Dorn, 136, 5. 10. Dorn. Caspia, 83. Melgunof, the Southern Shore of the Caspian Sea, 212.

71 Melgunof, 171. Warek, Zahīr-ed-din, 11, 11.

72 By Firdusi, 64, 48, Gōsh (manuscripts give the reading Kōs) is called the seat of Ferīdūn in Tammisha; Zahīr-ed-din, who quotes Firdusi's Distichon, has Kōsh (Gōsh)

73 To the south of Demāwend, Firdusi, 60, 513. Zahīr-ed-din, 291. 9. 6. Comp Marquart, Zeitsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 49, 665.

74 Firdusi, 64, 47. Zahīr-ed-din, 12, 16. 366, 2. Yākūt, 3. 547, 14. 17. Melgunof 216. Tomaschek, historische Topographie von Persien, Wien, 1883, 60. 83. Spiegel, Iran, Alterth. 1, 544. Dorn, Caspia, 127b. 131b.

75 Melgunof, 165.

(or at Sāri[76]). As the Dejokes castle is connected with Assyrian prototypes, or perhaps with the kindred Alarodian or old Armenian architecture, so the royal architecture of the Persians also sprang from the west. The tomb of Kyros shews the type of the Mesopotamian gradient temples with Greek outlines[77]; the tombs of the kings at Naksh-i Rustam are inspired by the Egyptian; the ground plan of the fire-temples as they appear in the quadratic buildings at Pasargadae, near Naksh-i Rustam, and in Naubandagān, as well as on the Persepolitan coins of the Fratakaras from Seleukidian times, is also developed in the Lykian town-towers of Pinara and stone sarcophagi as those at Phellos[78]; Assyrian, Greek and Egyptian Art has part in the composition of the Persepolitan pillars, the wall decorations are undoubtedly carved out by Greek sculptors, and has its prototype in Khorsābād, and, what is still more important for our subject, hieratic representations, like the winged figure of the divinity,[79] or the representation of the Ahrimanian monster, or of Hades[80] with a wolf's throat, a lion's forepaw, and birds-of-prey claws, so to speak a Patyāra or counter-creation to the winged Cherubim on the Palace gates,[81] are borrowed from Babylonian and Assyrian plastic art, and it would be impossible if nothing from the contents and meaning of these representations had found an entrance into the Iranian religion. All this is not to be conceived in Bactria. Even Rudolf Roth, who was so much prepossessed by the Bactrian origin of the Awesta, allowed in a very

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[76] Firdusi, 412, 482. 1639, 2519.

[77] George N. Curzon, Persia, II, Lond. 1892, 142. 190.

[78] Fellows, Account of Discoveries in Asia Minor, 142. Benndorf und Niemann Reise in Lykien, Wien, 1884, 54. 109. Tab. 37. Justi, Geschichte der Oriental. Völker 412. 414. 453. Stack, Six Months in Persia, Lond. 1882, 60.

[79] Sam. Johnson, Oriental Religions, I. 29. Blochet, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 38, 1898, p. 31.

[80] On Hades and Ahriman.: Rapp, Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 19, 1865 pp. 60, 79.

[81] Observe the Nergal or Hades on the bronze plate from Palmyra: Clermont-Ganneau, Revue Archéolog. XII. Dec. 1879. Pl. XXV. Maspero, Histoire ancienne de l'Orient, I. 1895, 691. The figure walking: Dieulafoy, Acropole de Suse, repeated by Alwin Schultz, Allgemeine Kunst-geschichte, 1, 145.

fine essay[82] that the Calendar of the Awesta, computed on the climatic and agricultural conditions of Bactria, would also suit Media. Ch. de Harlez[83] points out that the calendar of the Magi can only have originated in Media at a much later time.[84] Even if a Bactrian kingdom had existed before the Achæmenian, which, face to face with the accounts of the battles of Kyros against the nomads of that district, is not probable, there would have been no occasion to alter the old Arian religion, especially as the customs of the Bactrians are still described in Alexander's time as rough.[85] That the Bactrians were not only Arians in a broad sense, as perhaps a Sakian tribe, but Iranians, is shown by their armour, which Herodotus 7, 64, describes, and also from the especially Bactrian names, Oxyartes, Rōxanē, Spitamenes, Spithobates, etc. That no tidings of the Bactrian kingdom was known in ancient times is shown by Strabo's words, which expressly state that Bactria only became known to the western nations by the wars of the Parthians.[86]

The legend relates further that the revealed doctrine did not find any sympathy in Atropatene, therefore the disappointed Prophet preached at a far distance at the court of King Wishtāspa, and from there the doctrines again returned westwards. Zoroaster's emigration is proved by his own words in the Gāthā Ushtawaiti (Yasna 46, 1): *Kām nemōi zām, kuthrā nemō ayēnī*, "To what country shall I fly, whither can I turn?" A classical outcry which (Yasht, 22, 20) the soul of the dead sinner makes, when separated from the body, it wanders the first three nights and has terrible visions of all the sins committed during its life-time. The Prophet found no favour in his own country where the reigning house was hostile[87] to him, and is called "the

[82] Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesell 34, 715.

[83] Abhandlungen des Berliner Orientalisten Congresses, 1882, II., 2, 270.

[84] Comp Justi, Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 51, 250.

[85] Strabo, 11, 11, 3 (ed. Meineke 726, 9. *seq*). Curtius, 4, 6, 3. Later authors, like the Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ, Eusebios, Ammianus, have the Hephthalian and other analogous nations in view.

[86] Strabo, 1, 2, 1; 2, 5, 12 (after Apollodoros of Artemita).

[87] Yasna, 46, 11; 48, 10.

wicked rulers of the land"; only his nearest relations embraced his doctrines,[88] and the divinity directs him to Wishtāspa,[89] who does not live in Bactria, but in another part of Media, for the family Spitāma is related to the Huwogwa, to whom Wishtāspa's Wezir Jāmāspa belongs, as he was the husband of Pouruchista, the Prophet's daughter[90]; so it is imagined that Wishtāspa, who supported the claims of his house Naotara to the kingdom, offered protection to the Prophet, who was persecuted by the Kawis. The Gāthās do not mention any of the royal family of Kawi; even the old King Yima, from whom the Kawi were descended, is counted with the sinners, from whom the Prophet wished to be separated.[91] If Wishtāspa had been king of Bactria, Zoroaster would probably have never even known of his existence, as Bactria is so far distant and divided from Media by mountain passes and deserts, that Ibn Khurdādbih calculates the distance from Rai (Ragha) to Marw at 201 Farsangs or 34 days' march, from Marw to Balch at 118 Farsangs, or 20 days' march, which is about the same as the distance between Bombay to the borders of Assam, or from Hamburg to Naples; even the journey from Urmia over Shīz to Rai, Zoroaster's later dwelling place, would mean a journey as far as from Bombay to Goa, or from Hamburg to Munich — and he would have had to undertake this journey on pure chance, as he was not invited to go and had first to legitimate himself by miracles.

The question is now how the connection of Wishtāspa with the Kawi is treated by the legend, and again how the statement in the Awesta compares with the history of the Median kings. The explanation is difficult because, as might be expected, the legend has altered according to the received bias. They were especially obliged to describe the ancient kings whom they considered as rulers of all Iran as being full of glory and pertaining to Zoroaster, and even the pro-Zoroastrian

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88 *Ibid.* 15.

89 *Ibid.* 14.

90 *Ibid.* 17. Perhaps Zoroaster's son-in-law is a second Jāmāspa, the son or nephew of the Wezir.

91 Yasna, 32, 8. Preuss. Jahrbücher, 1897, p. 236.

kings are described as being devoted to a stepping-stone of the Mazdayasnian religion. The Kawi dynasty, according to the early conception, overthrew the dynasty of the Median race Naotara. It is stated that the founder Kawi-Kawāta was adopted by the last Naotara, Zaw, son of Naudhar (Naotara),[92] and according to the Shāhnāmeh, Kobād (Kawāta) was considered a prince sent from God; but of Naotora's race still live Tusa and Wistakhma (Tūs and Gustehem in Firdūsi), who have, however, lost the *khwarenō*, or royal majesty.[93] Easily the fall of a dynasty may be traced here, and Wishtāspa descended from the race of Naotara[94] must be looked upon as the conqueror of the Kawi dynasty, whose title he adopts; but, as the Awesta testifies, in spite of belonging to the Naotairyan family, he was also related, through his father Lohrāsp, son of Kai Ogī, the son of Manus, to Kawi Pisina,[95] who ruled in Pārs, and was a brother of Kawi Usa, the successor of Kawāta. The fall of the Kawi dynasty, which is probably in connection with the introduction of the Zoroastrian religion, because, as Spiegel shows, the priestly legend at this time is inserted into the tradition, is as much veiled as its commencement. The last of the Kawi, Khusrau, weary of governing, is said to have abdicated at the end of his long and glorious reign, and in the face of energetic resistance to have resigned the kingdom to Wishtāspa's father Lohrāsp, and then to have been taken up to heaven in secret in a snow-storm.[96] But the Awesta mentions a son of Khusrau, Ākhrūra,[97] who by this means was probably moved out of the way. The title Kawi lost its hostile meaning, since Wishtāspa, as successor of the ancient kings, used it for himself; the priests changed in the old songs the sense of *kawi* "hostile king" in that of blind" (Pers. *kōr*) to the good doctrine, a meaning

92 Iranisches Namenbuch, 395.
93 Compare Samuel I. 16, 14.
94 Yasht 5, 98; 15, 35. West, Pahlavi Texts, V. 80. Jackson, 70, 192.
95 A King Pāsīn of Dārābgerd in Pārs was conquered by the founder of the Sasanian dynasty; comp. Iranisches Namenbuch, 395.
96 Firdusi, 1437 *seq.*
97 Perhaps Akhrūra (with short a), Skr. Akrūra.

that contradicts in a curious manner the etymological meaning of the word, which originally means "seeing, wise" (Greek κοέω, θυος-κόος, Ἱππο-κόων: Germ. *schauen*), while the Karapans, who are mentioned with the Kawis, the old priests of the idols (Sanskrit *kalpa*, rite, custom), are now become the "deaf ones," as Pers. *kar* has this meaning.[98] If the Kawi dynasty reigned in Zoroaster's home, Wishtāspa may have chosen Ragha, the ancestral home of his race, to be the seat of his government. The Median great-king could not allow the remains of small principalities to exist; by the extension of his power across north-east Media and Atropatene fell the *Danghupaiti* Wishtāspa. We may, therefore, perhaps continue the connection further. If after the conversion of Phraortes to the Zoroastrian religion, when he assumed the important name of the "confessor" in the Median language (*fraoretā*),[99] the priesthood of Ragha remained under Zoroaster, then under Spentōdāta, as a priestly principality, we may presume that Spitamās was at the head of it at the time of Kyros.[100] Thus, therefore, may the much-debated passage from Yasna 19, 18 (50 *seq.*) be explained: "Who are the rulers? the lord of the house, the lord of the village, the head of the tribe, the prince of the country, the fifth is Zarathustra, namely, in the countries outside the Zarathustrian dominion. Four lords has the Zarathustrian Ragha. Who are the lords? the lord of the house, the lord of the village, the head of the tribe, the fourth is Zarathustra." Outside Ragha, stands (according to the priests) above the prince of the country, the representative of the church; in Ragha itself Zoroaster combines the priestly dignities with those of the ruler of the land.

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98 Comp. Barthélemy, Gujastak Abalish (Bibl. de l'École des hautes études, 69) Paris, 1887, p. 57.

99 The verb *war* (related to the German *wahr*, Russian *wjera*, faith), from which *fraoretā* is derived, is used at the commencement of the Zoroastrian creed, and the chapters Yasna 13 and 14 are called the creed (*fraoreti*).

100 Spiegel, Zeitschrift der Morgenl. Gesellsch. 35, 629. C. de Harlez, l. c. 275. Marquart, Zeitschrift. d. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft, 49, 662. Abhandlungen der Göttinger Ges. d. Wiss., III, 2, 127.

The Zoroaster in Ragha, taken as the successor to the Prophet in the priestly dignities, is called also Zarathushtrotema, the head Zoroaster.[101] This passage also settles the question where Zoroaster died. One asks the question, why did not Balkh become the seat of this priestly principality, especially as Isfendiār, Wishtāspa's son, whose name Sphendadates is borne by the Magian Gaumāta in Ktesias, and who, according to Tabari, 683, 7, receives Rai as his seat of government, and appears as a fighting monk and missionary. A Parsi book says that Zartusht finally returned to Ērān Wēj, and western traditions say that he was removed by a heavenly fire.[102] He most certainly died at his priestly see in Ragha, and the death by the sword of Arjāsp, that he is supposed to have suffered in Balkh, is a fable to Median make him appear a martyr.

Jackson considers that Atropatene has been proved to be Zoroaster's native place, but still seems inclined to the opinion of the Iranian and Mohammedan authors (that is to say the legend) that Wishtāspa ruled over Balkh, but leaves the question undecided.[103] We should, therefore, like to endeavour to prove that the Bactrian hypothesis is untenable, and to show what caused tradition to place the princes in Bactria.[104]

The Awesta never mentions Wishtāspa in connection with Bactria, even the country and its capital are only once mentioned, and then with the adapted Awestan Pahlawi form of the name Bākhdhīm (accusative, Wendidād 1, 6), in the Pahlawi translation Bākhr, that is, Bākhl, from which the modern name Balkh is derived; the *dh* seems to take the place of the missing *l* in the Awestan language, that has arisen from *dhr*, old Persian *tr* in Bākhtriš, and without mentioning either

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101 Spiegel, das. 631. Mills. The Zend-Avesta (Sacred Books of the East, XXXI.), Oxford, 1887, 265. Jackson 203. Comp. Preussische Jahrbucher, 88, p. 260. Among the Sāsānians the high-priest (*Maupatān-Maupat*) was the first man after the King, Masūdi Kitab at-tanbih, 103, 15.

102 Spiegel, I. 706, 707.

103 Jackson, 171, 172, 177. 218, 225.

104 Comp. Spiegel Zeitschrift d. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 41, 280.

Zarathushtra or Wishtāspa. The epithet *srīra* (the beautiful) is still given to the town by Persian and Arabic writers (*al-husnā* by Tabari and Masūdi), and its second adjective *eredhvōdrafsha* "with waving banner," is thus explained, that a green silk banner waved from the Naubehār, which is not a Pyreum, but a Buddhist cloister, Nawa-wihāra "the new cloister."[105] The Buddhists usually placed banners on the Stūpas or Topes. Barmek, the ancestor of the renowned Barmekides, was the head of this cloister[106] in the 8th century, which allows one to conjecture a unity or a syncretism of the religions. Buddhism appears in Bactria as early as the time of Antiochos Theos (261—247), and by the 1st Century B. C. has become established there. The well-known coins of Kanishka, with the image of Buddha and of the Zoroastrian genii, show that this prince inclined towards both religions.[107] To this time may belong the much-discussed Gaotema in the later Yasht 13.[108] At this prime of Buddhism in Bactria occurred perhaps the promotion of Wishtāspa to Balkh (Baktra). As the Iranian element felt itself confined to the eastern provinces of the former empire, it looked for a centre of religious life; that was offered to it at Bactria, the seat of the Greek kings, and from whence Greek culture radiated as far as India. By appealing to the defender of the founder of the religion and adversary of his enemies, one was able at the same time to raise old claims for the possession of Bactria, which after the Greek kings had again passed to non-Iranian rulers. Bactria was undoubtedly the greatest capital, and, at the time of the Achæmenians, the grandest seat of the Satraps, which was held by the king's brothers Tanyoxarkes, Masistes, Hystaspes, and Dareios (later king, the second

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[105] Garrez, Journal Asiatique, VI., 13, 179, 180. Justi, Preuissische Jahrbuecher, 88, p. 62. Grundriss der Iran. Philol., II., 403. A banner on the stupe is shown on a relief in Buddha Gaya. Cunningham, Archælological Survey, I., 9, Plate VI.

[106] Iran. Namenbuch. 64b; Al-Hamadhani (Bibl. Geograph. Arab. V.) 332, 13—324, 10. Yakūbi (*ib.* VII.) 288, 8.

[107] Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde 2, 1075. Spiegel, I., 1. 671 ; III., 717. Hertzberg, Geschichte von Hellas und Rom. Berlin, 1879 (Oncken's Allgemeine Geschichte) 604. Jackson, 177.

[108] Comp. Blochet, Revue, 1898, XXXVIII, 27.

of this name), and lastly Bēssos (an Achæmenian, whose relationship is not defined). Bactria was chosen by Alexander for the wedding festivities at his marriage with Rōxanē, and thus became the capital of the immeasurable kingdom that united Asia and Europe.[109] Characteristic of the relationship between Buddhism and Parseeism is the legend of the holy cypress-tree which Gushtāsp planted before the house of the fire Mihr-burzīn, and which must have been originally a *Ficus religiosa* which appears in the Buddha legend.[110] As Wishtāspa appears here, not in Bactria, but in Khorāsān, a province of the Parthians, so in the Awesta he comes forward in the west, in Atropatene: according to Yasht 5, 108, *berezaidhish Kawa Wishtāspa*, "the highly wise Kawi Wishtāspa" sacrificed at the back of the water Frazdānawa, and his brother *Aspāyaodhō Zairiwairish*, "the horse champion Zariadres" at the back of the water Dāitya, to Ardwi Sūra Anāhita, that she may give them the victory over *Arejadaspō Wañdaremainish*, and this also implores, but without success, for victory over the brothers at the Sea Wourukasha. As this last is the Caspian Sea (in the cosmographical and mythical Geography it also means the ocean which flows round the Karshware Khwaniratha or the central portion of the world), and the Dāitya flows in Airyanem Waējo, so Frazdānawa must be a river, not a lake in Segestān, as one tradition says, and in fact the Armenian Hrazdān, which flows by Eriwan and through the Sewanga or Gelam lake to the Araxes, in the province of Waraznūnik.[111] In other accounts[112] Wishtāspa offers a sacrifice on the Dāitya for victory over the Hwyaona (Khionian) Arejadaspa, and over the Hunu, from whom he liberated the religion. In the Gāthās[113] he is called Kawā Wishtāspō Yāhī, "the victorious," and

109 Curtius, 8, 4, 25. 10, 3, 12.

110 Jackson, 97. Firdusi, ed. Vullers, 1499, 75. Spiegel, Eran. Alterth. 1, 704. Hoffmann, Akten Syr. Märt. 297. Lefmann, Geschichte v. Indien (Oncken's Allgem Geschichte), 794.

111 Mose Choren. 1, 11. Indjidjean, Geography of Old Armenia, 457; compare. Jackson, 211. 220.

112 Yasht 9, 29; 13, 100; 17, 49. 61; 19, 86.

113 Yasna, 46, 14.

the sentences that somewhat point to war and shedding of blood in the Gāthās,[114] may have reference to the downfall of the Kawi dynasty which was connected with the introduction of the religion. Zoroaster himself prays to Ardwi Sūra Anāhita at Airyanem Waējō, that she will allow him to accomplish the king's conversion.[115] If he had been thinking of the king as in a far distant land, surely the Prophet would have waited with his prayer until he had seen the towers of Bactria. These citations are among some of the latest in the Awesta. As in the quoted 5th Yasht, Verse 130, Huwāfrita occurs, which is identical with Behāfrīd, one of the last kings in the Persian lists of the Arsakides or Parthians, and probably Vologeses III., who is here glorified, because, according to the Dīnkart, he had distinguished himself by the maintenance of the Awesta and the revival of the religion ; so we must place the Yasht under his reign (148—190). The citation cannot have been interpolated, as it is necessary to the disposition of the Yasht. The author having praised Anāhita and her rule of the world, firstly calls the goddess herself, who, after sacrifice in Airyanem Waējō, utters the wish, that Zarathushtra may be gained for the religion, and adds to this the prayers of the mythical kings and heroes for her favour. Then follows the continuation of the song of praise to the goddess, and her discourse with Zarathushtra, after which the figures of the Zoroastrian circle, the Prophet, Wishtāspa, Zairiwairi and Arejadaspa, are brought forward. A third song of praise has a very interesting description of her personal appearance (after her idol in the temple), and with this introduces the prayer of sacrifice of Huwāfrita, with a passage that seems to describe the king at the head of the Parthian horsemen. At this date, however, the legend had long been developed that the author, purposely or by chance, does not mention Bactria, is a strong proof of the correctness of his views concerning the geographical position of Wishtāspa's kingdom. Besides which, the mention of the Khwyaonas and the Gelanians and Huns brings us still further

[114] Yasna, 31, 18. 32, 10. 44, 14. 15. 53, 8.

[115] Yasht, 5, 105. Dastur Peshotan Behramjee Sanjana, The Dinkard VI.—Bombay, 1260 (1891), 376. Justi, Iran. Namenbuch, 139, 140.

down to the time of the Sāsānians, as the Huns or Massagetes (in the Armenian text of Agathangelos stands the name Mazkhuth, perhaps the Moshians of the ancients, but in the Greek Huns) invaded the kingdom of Persia in the year 504; by Faustus Byzantinus (Bizanites) 3, 6 (12, 33), appears as the leader of Honkh, the Arsakidian king of the Mazkhuth Sanesan, against the Armenian king, Khosrow II. (316—325); the Hunnian king, Urnayr, as well as Grumbates, the king of the Khionians, are in the train of Sapor II. in the year 359.[116] The wall of Derbend, Tshor pahak, by Prokopios Τζούρ, is also called the Albanian gate or bulwark of the Huns, pahak Honats.[117] The poet of the Shāhnāmeh even places Arjasp in his own time, calling him Paighawnizhād, "of the race of the Paighaw (Pēghū)," and causing him to write with Paighaw characters.[118] The Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna had, as did his father Sabuktegīn (in 997), to fight against the Tatars, who had penetrated as far as Balkh, but were repulsed by him. These Tatars were the forerunners of the Seljūks, who certainly were not conquered by Mahmud till after the poet's death, but before that had already vanquished many generals, and at last overthrew the dynasty of Ghazna. Paighaw is a town in Tatary, and a Seljūkian word or name, among the bearers of which are called Mūsā Paighaw (Pēglū), son of Seljūk (in 1030), the son of Dukāk, the son of Jaghrī-Beg, and Paighaw, a brother's son of Mūsā.[119] The wars against Tūrān are laid in the Shāhnāmeh in the country of the Oxus or Weh-rōt, and, according to Firdūsi, the heroes of Irān sometimes penetrated as far as Gulzarrium or Yaxartes, like Kyros who there built the fortress of Kyreshata, and Bactria seems to be the sally-port. Even the legend has accounts of battles to relate that took place on the western side of the Caspian Sea, or in the interior of Iran; and

[116] Langlois, Collection des Histor. Armén. 2, 34a. Comp. Nöldeke's Tabari, 479, note. Zeitschrift d. Morgenländ. Gesellsch. 36, 686. Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akademie CXXVI. (1892), 2. Wilhelm, Zeitschrift Morgenl. Ges. 42, 96 seq.

[117] Prokop. Bell. Goth. 4, 3. Grundriss d. Iran. Philol. II., 535.

[118] Firdusi, 1506, 187. 1537, 734. Comp. Abdulqādiri, Lexicon Shahnam., ed. Car. Salemann. Petropoli, 1895, p. 50.

[119] Ibn Athir, Chronic., ed. Tornberg 9, 267, 18. 312, 17.

even if, as is usual with legends, quite late events had been placed in ancient days, the oldest and correct opinion, that Wishtāspa's kingdom lay to the south of the Caspian Sea, would still shine through. Tradition relates that the king's father, Luhrāsp,[120] before he removed his residence from Istakhr (Persepolis[121]) to Balkh, made war against the Alans in the Caucasus,[122] a deed, which, in the Kitāb al-paikār translated from the Pahlawi, has been assigned to his nephew Isfendiār.[123] A tradition preserved by Kazwīni (1349) relates that Gushtāsp-bin-Luhrāsf the Kayānian caused a great network of canals to be dug between Aras and Kur[124] at Sāliān, the seat of the Shirwānshāhs, which was destroyed by the Mongolians, 1258. Isfendiār, son of Gushtāsp, is thrown a prisoner into the fortress of Gumbadhān by his pious father[125] after the Mojmilu'ttawārīkh.[126] This castle, as Spiegel remarks, is the same as the castle of the Mulhids (Ismāīlians or Assassins), Girdkōh, above the place Dihdājeb, to the west of Dāmaghān.[127] The choice of this castle has only sense if Wishtāspa lived in Media and had sent his son away from his Court to the mountains of Tabaristan; in Bactria he would have had fortresses nearer at hand at his disposal. The war against Arjasp played itself out in Khorasan,[128] to which distance Wishtāspa's power could only have reached, if he had, according to the fiction of the legend, ruled all Irān from Baktria.

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120 In the Awesta he is called with the epithet of the sun, Aurwadaspa, "driving with fast horses," his father is Ōji, a name by which Ormazd is known (Aoji), whose father is Manus, called after his ancestor Manushchithra. Luhrāsp means "who possesses red horses."

121 Kai Kāūs reigns in Istakhr, where Gushwād of Ispāhān, father of Gōdarz, also has a castle (Kākh). Firdusi, 750, 1221. Tabari, 597, 17 says: In Balkh.

122 Firdusi, 1432, 2973.

123 Marquart, Zeitschr. Morgenl. Gesell. 49, 639.

124 Khanikov, Bulletin de l'Acad., IX., 1852, 266. Dorn, Mémoires de l'Acad., VI. 7, 511, 549. Barbier de Meynard, Dict. Géogr. 489.

125 Jackson, 118, 131. Firdusi, 1550, 956, 1565, 1194, 1643, 2577.

126 Mohl, Journal Asiat., III., 11, 353, 1.

127 Yākūt, 2, 539, 17. 366, 5. Zahir ed-din, 84, 15. 18. 86, 6. 7. 11. 265, 10. 11. Comp. Quatremère, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, Paris 1836, p. 278. Häntzsche Zeitschrift Morgenl. Ges. 16, 530. Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire Géogr. 223.

128 Jackson, 123.

A further statement of the legend contained in the genealogy of, the Kawis in Tabari's Chronicle 1, 617, points also to Media: the sons of Apiwanghu[129] receive portions of the kingdom as inheritance; Arshan becomes king of Khūzistān, Pisina of Pārs, Byarshan of Kermān; for Usa (Kai Kāūs, the eldest and chief ruler) remains Media. How uncertain all these accounts are is shown by Wishtāspa being descended from Pisina, which was arranged to connect the Naotarides with the Kawis (Kayanides), and that Kai Kāūs was living in Balkh, while this town was supposed to be founded only by Luhrāsp.

Even Afrāsiāb, who, according to the epos, appears as ruler of Turkistan and neighbour of the Emperor of China, and whose name and the names of his heroes are Iranian, does not come to a place in Turkistan during his flight, but, like the Scythians in the time of Kyaxares, from the Caucasus to Berdá in the plain of Kur, on the Terter,[130] where he hides in a cave, called after him Hang-i Afrāsiāb[131]; driven from there, he hid himself on the lake of Chaichasta, that is, the lake of Urumia, where he is taken prisoner[132] and killed by Kai Khusrau, the predecessor of Gushtāsp. Hither must Khusrau pilgrimage from Pars (Istakhr) to the fire Gushnasp, to find out through higher suggestion the hiding place of his enemy. By the taking of the fortress of Bahman, near Ardabil,[133] as a youth he proved himself to be a worthy heir for the disputed throne, and plants the sacred fire on this castle which before was given over to devils and sorcerers (gods and priests of the heathen religion). Ardabil has been cited incorrectly. Firdūsi had no exact knowledge of the place. The town was probably only built by the Sāsānian Pērōz, after whom it was called Bādān

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[129] Comp. Nöldeke, Zeitschr. Morg. Gesell. 32, 570.

[130] Armen. Partav in Sakasene or Uti; comp. Indjidjean, Armen. Geography, 341 342.

[131] Firdusi, 1386, 2241. 2243.

[132] The same, 1391, 2317. Tabari 616, 12 (instead of bīr read bi-bar, at the lake (ghadīr) Chāst).

[133] Firdusi, 756. 1321.

Pērōz, as Firdūsi remarks himself.[134] According to Parsee writings, Khusrau destroys the heathen temple on the lake of Chaichasta and assigns to the fire Gushnasp, that had clung to the mane of his stallion and illuminated the scene of the battle (from which it received the name "the stallion's fire"), a seat on the mountain Asnawant, with the wonderful blue lake Aswast in the same province from which the town takes its name Chīs or Chīz, Arabic Shīz, from Chaichasta or Chichest.[135] The waters of this lake, according to the Bundahishn, will be brought to awake the dead at the last day; and its waters form the river of Airyanem Waējō, the Dāitja, which corresponds[136] to the Balarathos of Theophylaktos, where Bahrām Chōbīn was defeated by the Romans, the Armenian Wararat, the present Sārūk and Jaghatū. That Kai Khusrau, as Wishtāspa's predecessor, reigned over Media or Atropatene after the original tradition, is shown by the scene of the legend ; but it identifies Wishtāspa's nephew Bahman with Artaxerxes I., places his daughter Khumāni's (Humai) residence in al-Madāin, the Parthian Ktesiphon,[137] and so connects that Median dynasty to the more important Achæmenians and Parthians. Already Kai Kāūs and Kai Khusrau are considered to have lived in Persepolis, from where the latter was to go to far distant Atropatene, just as his successor Luhrāsp

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134 Firdusi, ed. Mohl, VI., 94, 39.

135 Bundahishn, 41, 15. Spiegel, Eran. Alterth. 1, 654; comp. G. Hoffmann, Syr. Märtyr. 292; Bartholomae, Grundriss d. Iran. Phil. I., 56, note 6. The name of the fire Ādhar Gushnasp (from which has arisen by the clipping of the last syllable, Ādharakhsh, not by speaking, but by careless copying of the manuscripts), Armen. hratn Wshnasp (corrupted Washamb, Wnasp), Arabic nār or ādhar Jusnas, seems also to be contained in the corrupted names in the manuscripts Bān Sis for nār(Ju)snas, at the source of the Isfīdh rūdh. Ibn Rosteh (Bibl. Geogr. Arab. VII.) 89, 19 ; Sisar in Masudi, 62, 13 ; Bā (nār) Setis, Sis. Dorn, Bulletin de l'Acad. T. VI. Nov. 1871, p. 655. 662, 666. In Arabic letters all these variations may have arisen from nār Jushnas, in the same manner as the variation for the names Bahrām Gushnasp, B. Sis occurs. It might also be nār Shis Shiz), the fire of Shiz. The Ispīdrūdh or Kizil Uzen rises to the north of Shiz, the river that receives the outlet of the lake, is the Sārūk, an affluent of the Jaghatū.

136 West, Pahl. Texts, V., 161, n. 9. Theophyl. Simocatta, Histor. libri VIII., ed. I. Bekker, 223, 11. Sebēos, ed. Patkanean, 37, 8. Rawlinson, Journ. Geogr. Soc. X., 1841, 47. 75 (with maps). Houtum-Schindler, Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde, XVIII., 327.

137 Masūdi, Kit. at-tanbih 106, 4. 107, 7 ; comp. Abdulqādiri, Lex. v. Istakhr.

has to remove his residence to Balkh. Even Wishtāspa is once called an Achæmenian, probably because of some reminiscence of Dareios, son of Hystaspes, and deposits in Istakhr, in the castle of writings or the archives (Diz-i Nubisht) the Awesta that has been written down on parchments made of 12,000 (?) calf-skins.[138] This archive is also mentioned in the Dīnkart, but the king is more correctly called Dārā-i Dārāyān (Dareios III.), and he is said to have presented another copy to the Shapikān, that is the sacristy, where the priests' robes were kept.[139] What a chaos has arisen by dragging in Nebucadnezar and the doubtful figures of Darius the Mede, Daniel and others, can be studied at length in Tabari.

The Greek and Roman authors, whether they accept Zoroaster as a Bactrian king or as a Median magian, never say that Hystaspes was his patron. Only Ammianus mentions him as a wise king and successor to Zoroaster, but means the father of Darius; and Agathias,[140] who, as he says himself, repeats the Persian legend, places Zoroaster under Hystaspes, of whom he is doubtful if he be the father of Dareios or another, but no mention of Bactria. That king Wishtāspa or Hystaspes is always placed in Media, not in Bactria, is shown by Justinus Martyr and Lactantius, according to whom, Hystaspes was "an ancient king of the Medes," who had prophesied the great World-fire, that is, the fire Harmushtin, "the all-destroying," of the Bundahishn, which at the last day will cleanse the earth from sin. Again, before all, from the often-quoted tale of Chares of Mytilene,[141] a companion of Alexander's, in which the sons of Adonis and Aphrodite (Mithra and Anāhita[142]), namely Hystaspes who ruled over Media and the country below probably the plain of Urumia and the Araxes, Atropatene), and Zariadres, over the country of the Caspian Gates (eastward of Ragha) as far as the Tanaïs,

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138 Jackson, 97. 224, note 2. Comp. Tabari 676, 3. 5. Mirkhond I. 180, 8.

139 Hyde, Vet. Pers. relig. hist. 303 *seq.* 322. Barthélemy, Livre d'Ardā virāf, Paris 1887. 137, 138, 140. Fr. Müller, Wiener Zeitschrift f. K. d. M. V. 1891, 64.

140 Jackson, 248.

141 Athenaios, Deipnosophistae 575a (ed. Kaibel 3, 267).

142 Comp. Spiegel, Zeitschr. d. Morg. Ges. 52, 189.

therefore, over Khorāsān and the plain of the Oxus. Zariādres marries Odatis, the daughter of the king of the Marathes Homartes (perhaps Homarges or Amorges) in the same way as Gushtasp, in the Shāhnāmeh, wins the hand of the emperor's daughter in Byzanz. The tale of Chares is older than the Awesta, excepting its most ancient parts, and Bactria is not to be thought of. The Marathes are otherwise not mentioned, therefore it was wished to put a better known race like the Sarmates or the Maiōtes in their place.[143] But here is erroneously assumed that Tanaïs were the Don, as in Herodotus, whereas at Alexander's time the Jaxartes or Orxantes was called Tanaïs, as it was thought to be in connection with the Don.[144] The tradition in the Shāhnāmeh lets Hystaspes take his brother's place as being more important to the legend; and the wedding journey, therefore, is not taken to the Amyrgian Sakes, but to Byzanz, from which the late form of the tradition can be traced in Firdūsi, which has also used reminiscences of Xerxes' campaign against Hellas, but has already knowledge of the Khazar prince Eliās.[145] That the latter tradition had not even thought of a kingdom of Bactria, is shown by the (naturally otherwise worthless) account that only Luhrāsp founded Balch.[146] The coin mentioned by Jackson with the legend 'Αροοασπο cannot allude to Luhrāsp, it belongs to Kanērki, who reigned in north-western India in 78 A.D., but did not reside in Bactria. The representation on the coin is a man with a horse, and the legend answers to the Awestan *Aurwadaspa*, a surname of the genius Apām-napāt.[147] The reason that the field of action has been removed in the legend from Atropatene or Media and from Pars to Bactria may be sought in historical circumstances.

[143] Lutæ Holstenii notæ in Stephani Byz. Ethnica. Lugd. Bat. 1684, 196a.

[144] Diodor. 18, 5, 4. Arriani Exped. Alex. 3, 30, 8. 4, 1, 4. 5, 25, 5. Q. Curtius 6, 6, 13. 7, 4, 6. 32. 6, 12 7. 1. Comp. Niese, Geschichte d. griech. u. makedon. Staaten 115, n. 5.

[145] Comp. Rapp, Zeitschrift d. Morg. Ges. 20, 65. Spiegel, Altherth. 1, 665. Jackson 73. Firdusi 1481, 664.

[146] Jackson 208. He has called the town al-Husnā, that is the beautiful, Awestan *srira*, Tabari 1, 645, 12.

[147] A. v. Sallet, die Nachfolger Alexander's 189. Percy Gardner, Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings, Pl. XXVI, 7. Hoffmann, Syr. Geschichten pers.] Märt. 150. Aurel Stein, Zoroastrian Deities, London : 1887, 4a.

When the whole of Western Irān and the remainder of India was under the sway of Alexander's successors, the legends and traditions were placed partly in the eastern province which was still in the possession of the Arians, where the Greek-Bactrian kings and the Parthians ruled, without interfering with the religion of their vassals. The Iranian tradition suffered many changes and extensions during the five hundred years' sway of the Arsakides, and the Iranian princes endeavoured to write their names in the Book of Kings. Rustam, in the Awesta *Sāma Keresāspa*, appears as the embodiment of the princely house, who since the first century ruled in Sakastān (so called since 140 B.C., from the Sakas who settled there) and Arachosia, and to which the mighty Hyndopheres, one of the Magi who adored the child Jesus, Hyrkodes and others belonged,[148] and the figure of the Parthian Gotarzes lives on in that of Gōdarz of Ispāhān; and Meherdotes (Mithradates V. 107—113) in Mīlād, son of Gurgēn (Firdusi).[149] It is related of Yezdegerd III., that when flying before the Arabs he took the sacred fire from Rai and placed it at Marw.[150] The sacred fire Khurrah was at the wish of Zoroaster conveyed by King Wishtāspa from Khwārizm (Khiwa), where it had been worshipped by the mythical king Jamshēd (by some accounts, only by Anosharawān, 531—579), to al-Kāriān in the district of Dārābgerd in Pārs (not, as the Bundahishn says, to Kābul). When the Arabs broke into the land, the sacred fire was divided and taken more into the interior partly to Pasā and partly to al-Baidhā to the west of Persepolis.[151] The fire Gushnasp was taken to Sagastān (Seistān)[152] and so the origin of the Kawi-dynasty was transplanted from Atropatene to that place.

148 Comp. Grundris d. iran. Philol. II. 506. 507.

149 Marquart, Zeitschr. d. Morgenl. Ges. 49, 634. 641.

150 Tabari 3682, 3. Tabari transl. by Zotenberg 3, 503.

151 Hamadhani (Bibl. Geograph. Arab. ed. J. de Goeje) 246, 8. Masudi, les Prairie-d'or, ed. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille 4, 75. Shahrastāni, transl. by Haarsbrücker 1, 299. Hoffmann, Syrische Märtyrerakten 285.

152 Baihaki in Yākūt 3, 958. Hoffmann 297. Jackson 44. 45. 212. A Tribe in Seistan, the Kaiani, pretend to descend from the Kawi-dynasty: George N. Curzon, Persia 1, 228, note.

Sagastān was probably conquered by Bahrām II. (275—293), and Bahrām III. (293) and Hormizd III. (457) were Sagānshāhs before they became great kings.

By degrees the whole of the Eastern Iranian Parthian kingdom rose to attack the Greek powers in Western Irān, in like manner as the movement against the Arabic Khalifat began in Khorāsān, Segestān and Transoxania. If we notice the names of the first Parthian kings, Arshaka, Frahāta, Friyapita and Mithradāta, we observe they have distinctly old Persian and Awestan forms; it is, therefore, easy to imagine that the old Median language was employed artificially in the Parthian period, as the other dialect of the sacred literature, the Pahlawi, has been still used for centuries after the modern Persian language had been developed.

In the Yashts, that may be placed in the times of the late Parthians, places in Western Iran are seldom mentioned, as Babel (Bavri, that is, Bavli, the Aramæan form of the name), Kwirinta, the district and lake of Chaichasta, and others, but the province of Sakastān and the basin of the Hilmand are more often mentioned and with many details and names of towns, rivers and mountains.[153] The geographical chapter already mentioned, which is prefixed to the Wendīdād or Book of the Law, seems like the letterpress to a map of Ariana in the time of Eratosthenes. Only at the beginning Zoroaster's home is stated to be Airyanem-waējō, and at the end it is said, there might be other (besides the quoted places) regions, plains and countries. This very innocent religious-geographical account of the countries which at that time were already taken away from the Seleukidean dominion, probably dates from the year 129 B.C.,[154] and by the mistaken interpretation of the first part and of the purpose of the chapter, as if it had been a most ancient document about the immigration of the Arians into Irān, it has added greatly to the mystification of the part that Bactria has played in the Zoroastrian religion.

[153] Yasht 10, 13. 14. 19, 66. 67.

[154] Preussische Jahrbücher 88 (1897) 62. 63.

Bactria was conquered by Kyros, without a kingdom of the Bactrians, or even the name of these people being mentioned with that of the Sakes, Masagetes, Derbikes and Dahas; according to Ktesias the Bactrians surrendered voluntarily. At the time of Dareios' accession to the throne, when all the provinces revolted, no mention is made of a pretender as in Media, Persis, Susiana, Arachosia, and the Satrap Dādarshi of Bactria could unconcernedly leave his province to quell the insurrection in Margiana which belonged to Bactria. Xerxes could augment[155] his enormous army with Bactrian and Sakian warriors under his brother Hystaspes, and lead them against Hellas, without having to fear a hostile attack in the north-east. After Alexander Greek kings ruled Bactria; when the Hephthalites (Haitāl or Yuëchi, sometimes called Huns) allied with the Tokhārs destroyed the Greek-Bactrian kingdom and made Balkh their capital (128 B.C.), the duty of defending the north-eastern frontier fell to the Parthians. The Sāsānians vainly tried to retake Bactria under Bahrām V. and under Pērōz. They were even obliged to pay tribute to the Haitāl after Pērōz's defeat by Yu-chin or Khushnawāz (484). Khusrau I. gained in 557 a victory over this people, who were already hastening towards decay, and which was soon after wiped out by the Turks.[156] The victory enlarged for the first time, since the days of Dareios III., the frontiers of the Iranian Kingdom to the Oxus and reminded the Persians of the heroic deeds of Kai Khusrau in the legend, who had conquered and killed Afrāsiāb, and whose figure is much worked up according to the pattern of his Sāsānian name-sake. Since then the warfare that is pictured in the Shāhnāmeh did not cease, until Mongolians and Tatars razed the frontier walls to the ground, and Irān was taken from the Persians, who had long since changed the religion of the old Persians for that of Islam and had become subjected to Turkish dynasties.

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155 Herod. 7, 64.

156 Compare with F. von Richthofen, China II., 439. Vasconcellos-Abreu in Le Muséon T. II., No. 2, p. 165. Specht, Journal Asiat. Dez., 1883, 319 *seq.* Drouin, Revue archéol. II. 6, 142.

The Parsi tradition has presented us with a portrait of the Prophet, and Jackson supports the view that the well-known relief of Tāk-i-Bostān, which represents the king standing by a figure with a halo, receiving a ring of government from Ahuramazdā, is a Sāsānian representation of the Zoroastrian legend, and that the Zoroaster-figure may more correctly be Ahuramazdā.[157] The Parsis have often used this so-called likeness of the Prophet as a frontispiece for religious works; for example, in the edition of the Awesta in Guzarati writing by Bahdīn Dadabhoy Kavasji, Bombay, 1240 (1871), in a lithographed edition of the Shāhnāmeh, Bombay, 1846, p. 567, at the head of the song beginning on p. 1067 of the edition by Turner Macan.

The relief undoubtedly represents Ardashir I., the ancestor of Saper III., who had the grotto decorated, in the act of receiving the wreath or circle of rule from Ōrmazd. Both figures are standing over Artāban V., the last of the Parthians, who is prostrate on the ground; this follows from the comparison with the first relief at Naksh-i Rustam,[158] where the God and the king are mounted, and in the inscriptions on their horses are mentioned by name. The genius who, with a club in his hands and a halo round his head, stands on a star-lotos flower[159] (an old symbol of the Sun-worshippers on account of its Heliotropism), is the sun-god Mithra. He appears with the same halo on the coins of the Turushka kings and with the inscription of his name,[160] and most prominently on the relief at Nimrod-dāgh, where he is giving his hand[161] to Antiochos I. of Kommagene, the descendant of the Achæmenians and Seleukides (69-34). In the Mihir Yasht Mithra stands: "holding with the hand the club, with 100 knots and 100

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[157] Jackson, 288. 292. 293 (with three cuts).

[158] The seventh in Curzon's Persia II., 125.

[159] The Sun-god of the Hindus also loves the lotos, Meghadūta 40.

[160] Percy Gardner, Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings. Plate XXVI, 10; XXVII., 4. 24. Aurel Stein, Zoroastrian Deities (Oriental and Babylonian Record, 1887) S. 2; also in the excellent work on Mithra by Franz Cumont, Brussels, 1896, 186. Le Comt Goblet de Alviella, Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce. Paris, 1897, S. 30.

[161] Humann und Puchstein, Reisen in Kleinasien, Berlin, 1890. Taf. XXVIII., 2. Cumont 188.

blades, a powerful one, heros-down-throwing, mounted with yellow brass, strong, golden, the strongest of the weapons, the most victorious of the weapons, before which is afraid Aēshma, the evil-thinker, the sinful one, of whom are frightened all invisible devils and the Warenian evil ones."[162] Likewise Sraosha carries a club[163] and also Ahuramazdā in the Sāsānian sculpture.

FERDINAND JUSTI.

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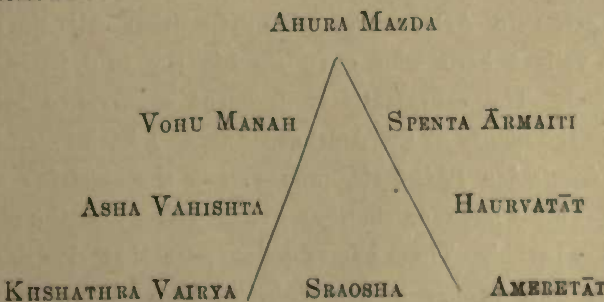
162 Yasht 10, 96 ; comp. 6, 5.
163 Wendidād 18, 30 (71).

KHSHATHRA VAIRYA,

One of the Zoroastrian Archangels.

'THY Kingdom come' is one of the petitions in the first and best prayers that we Christians as children are taught to utter at our mother's knee. It is interesting, therefore, to find that this conception of a divine kingdom and its establishment, so familiar to us in Christ's teaching, and one of the ideals of the ancient faith of Judaism, may be traced in a somewhat parallel manner also in Zoroastrianism. The conception is contained in the Avestan Khshathra Vairya, 'the Wished-for Kingdom,' Vohu Khshathra, 'the Good Kingdom,' or Khshathra Ishtōish, 'the Kingdom of Desire.' And as the notions of an earthly and a spiritual empire blend together in the older Jewish conception and gradually become more exalted and idealized, so it seems to be possible to recognize a sort of shading between the symbolic and the material application, or interpretation, of the word *khshathra* in the sense of sovereignty or kingdom and as the genius presiding over metals.

In the court of Ahura Mazda, Khshathra Vairya stands as one of the Amshaspands, or Archangels, before the throne. The arrangement of this celestial council in order of rank about the Supreme Being, as I have shown in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* I. 363 *seq.*, is as follows :—



But before proceeding further with the discussion of Khshathra in detail, a word may be said with reference to the radical theory propounded by Darmesteter in his great translation of the Avesta, which appeared shortly before his death. This hypothesis, which ascribes the doctrine of the Amesha Spentas to the influence of the Neo-Platonic 'Ideas,' and regards Vohu Manah as a reflex of Philo's Θεῖος Λόγος (*Theios Logos*), and argues that parallels to the other Amshaspands are to be found in the Philonic Δυνάμεις (*Dunameis*) cannot be said to have met with favor among Avestan scholars generally. So much has been written on the subject by specialists—and that most ably—that there remains little to add but to repeat again that the doctrine of the Amshaspands can be shown to be at least a century older than Darmesteter would place the Gāthās, and it is undoubtedly as old as Zoroaster himself. Strabo (c. B. C. 63-A. D. 25), who lived nearly a century earlier than Plutarch, mentions Ameretāt under the Greek form Ανάδατος (*Anādatos*), *i.e.* 'Αμάρθατος (*Amhrdatos*), and he refers also to 'Ωμανής (*Ōmanēs*) *i.e.* Vohu Manah (see Strabo 11, p. 512c, cf. Windischmann, *Anāhita*, p. 86, München 1856). Asha, moreover, is not only admitted to be an equivalent of the Vedic *ṛta*, but the designation as a concept is found in many Old Persian names under the form *Arta*, as well as in the Bactrian name 'Οξυάρτης, *Oxyartes*, which apparently corresponds, etymologically at least, to Avestan *Ukhshyaṭ-ereta*. See, for example, the long list of *Arta*-names in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 31—40, 485. The same is true of Vohu Manah, Vohūman, or Bahman, the name of the Amshaspand given to Artaxerxes, whom tradition calls the son of Isfendiar, that valiant hero who gave up his life in defence of the Zoroastrian creed. The comparatively frequent occurrence of these names based on the names of the Amshaspands, as I have noted in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, proves that the doctrine of the Amesha Spentas must have existed, and was current, at the close of the Achæmenian period. These names presuppose that doctrine just as much as our own proper names Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael,

presuppose the Archangels of the Bible. It may be added, moreover, that the whole Zoroastrian system from the beginning to the end, from the Gāthās to the latest Ravāyats, postulate the existence of the Amshaspands as a cardinal tenet of the faith.

So much of a digression was allowable by way of criticism, and we now approach our subject when we mention, Ὀξάθρης, or Oxathres, as a Bactrian name in early times; for this name we know contains *khshathra*, whether the form be *Hu-khshathra* or *Vohu-khshathra*, or otherwise. The name itself, therefore, appropriately leads us back to the idea of the Kingdom (*Khshathra*) according to Zoroastrianism.

In Avesta *Khshathra Vairya* means 'Wished-for Kingdom,' or 'Kingdom to be Desired.' It is found in Pahlavi as *Khshatraver* or *Shatravĕr*; in Persian as *Shahrēvar*. The Sanskrit paraphrase of the Yasna by Neryosangh has *saharēvar*, as a sort of transcription, or it gives *rājya*, *svāmitva* as paraphrases. Consult for example Ys. **28**, 3; **45**, 10; **49**, 8, &c., and see Geiger, *Handbuch der Awestasprache*, p. 224. The Greek rendering which Plutarch gives in his list of the six divinities that answer to the Amshaspands (*Is. et Os.* 47) is εὐνομία (*eu-nomia*), 'good rule, good order,' which corresponds precisely to Vohu Khshathra. This is all that need be said for the moment with reference to the form of the name. More important is the idea which the words convey.

Briefly stated, this personified abstraction in its spiritual sense represents an embodiment of Ahura Mazda's might, majesty, dominion, and power, or that blessed reign whose establishment on earth will mean the annihilation of evil and will accompany the millennium [1]. The Būndahishn and the Dīnkart serve to supplement the Avestan texts on this point as I have noted in my monograph on the *Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life* (Biblical World, Chicago, 1896). In short, Khshathra, with its various attributes, denotes the rule of Ormazd, the kingdom of heaven hereafter, or, as is said in the

[1] See Ys. **31**. 4; **51**. 1; Bd. **30**. 19–33; Dinkart **2**. 81. 6; cf. also Casartelli, *Mazda Religion*, transl. p. 200.

Haptanghāiti, 'may we attain to thy Good Kingdom, O Ahura Mazda, for all enternity' (Ys. 41, 2 *vohū khshathrem tōi mazdā ahurā apaēmā vīspāi yavē*). In the Gāthās this hallowed sovereignty is sometimes called simply *khshathra* 'Kingdom, Rule, Power';[2] sometimes it is *vohu khshathra* 'the Good Kingdom,'[3] as opposed to 'the Kingdom of the Wicked One' (*i. e.*, Ahriman);[4] or it is 'the Kingdom of Desire,'[5] 'the Realm where the sun (ever) shines,'[6] 'the Mighty Rule,'[7] 'the Wished-for Sovereignty' which belongs to Ahura, Asha, and Vohu Manah.[8]

In general it may be said that Khshathra Vairya as an archangel is far more abstract than either Vohu Manah or Asha Vahishta to whom he ranks next in order but still vivid enough as a figure. The whole Zoroastrian tendency to personification is in fact remarkable, considering its antiquity. It can but recall such later day personifications of abstract virtues, or the like, as are found in the early European mora-

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2 *e. g.* Ys. 30. 7. For convenience Justi's transcription is adopted in this article.

3 *Cf.* Ys. 31. 22; 51. 1; 48. 8. See also Ys. 37. 5 and Vsp. 20. 1.

4 *Ys.* 31. 15 *Peresā avaṯ yā mainish yé dregvāitę khshathrem hunāiti* 'I ask this, what is the punishment for him who advanceth the Power of the Wicked.' A noteworthy contrast between the sovereignty of good and of evil rulers upon earth, will be found in the Dīnkart, translated by Dastur Peshotan Behramjee Sanjana, VI. 422—3; vii. 466; viii. 468.

5 *Ys.* 51. 2 *dōishī mōi ishtōish khshathrem*, which Nerayosangh plainly renders by 'grant me the desired power,' *dēhi mahyaṁ vāñchitaṁ rājyam* — see Spiegel, *Neriosengh's Yaçna*, p. 219. The Pahlavi has *īsht pavan khutāyīh*, cf. Mills, Gāthās, p. 343. Compare also Ys. 48. 8.

6 Lit. 'in the sun-seeing kingdom' (*qēñg-darenōi khshathrōi*), which the gloss of Neryosangh (*kila, sūryapadē prasādō 'sti*) also refers to Paradise. On the sun in relation to the other world, see the Great Iranian Būndahishn passage translated by Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. ii. 314.

7 *Ys.* 31. 4 *Khshathrem Aojōñghvaṯ.*

8 For example see Ys. 30. 8 *mazdā taibyō khshathrem* 'thy Kingdom, O, Mazda'; Ys. 32. 6 *thwahmī vé mazdā khshathrōi ashāicā* 'in thy Kingdom, O Mazda, that is, yours and Asha's'; Ys. 34. 10 *thwahmī mazdā khshathrōi ā* 'in thy Kingdom O Mazda'; Ys. 48. 9 *thwahmī ā khshathrōi yavōi vīspāi* 'in thy Kingdom for all eternity'; Ys. 51. 4 *thwā khshathrā mazdā* 'through thy Kingdom, Mazda'; Ys. 30. 8. *mazdā taibyō khshathrem vohū manañhā vōividāitī* 'thy Kingdom, O Mazda, Vohu Manah' (instr. as nom.) shall establish,' cf. Bartholomae, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* i. § 128. ; cf. also Ys. 31. 6 *mazdā avaṯ khshathrem hyaṯ hōi vohū vakhshaṯ manañhā* 'that Kingdom, O Mazda, which Vohu Manah advances for him. Furthermore, Ys. 41. 2.

lity dramas, or the images that rise above the crest of that allegorical wave which swept over England and culminated in Spenser's Faerie Queene. As a specimen of Zoroaster's graphic portraiture of Khshathra Vairya with the other Amshaspands, we may refer to Ys. 33. 11. In prophetic vision the inspired seer lifts up his eyes, calling upon Khshathra to join with Ahura and the celestial host in hearkening to his prayer and granting favor to his petition: 'May the most beneficent Ahura Mazda and Armaiti (Harmony) and Asha (Righteousness), that promotes the world, and Khshathra (Kingdom) give ear unto me and show favor to me at the giving of every reward.'[9] Somewhat similar is the plastic conception of Khshathra, as Power, joining with the other Archangels, in the defence of newly created man, Gaya Maretan, when assailed by the forces of evil: 'And to his side came Khshathra and Vohu Manah Good Mind) and Asha (Righteousness).'[10] One is almost reminded of the angels at the opening of the old morality play, Castle of Perseverance, or the similar striking scene in Marlowe's Faustus.

But more often, perhaps, Khshathra is passive rather than active, a medium rather than the agent, the sway or rule through which Ormazd 'shall make the world regenerate according to wish,'[11] or again a realization of 'the Sovereignty which Vohu Manah (Good Mind) shall establish for Mazda.'[12] The idea of this rule of universal weal accounts, no doubt, for the association of Khshathra with

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[9] Ys. 33. 11. *Yé serishto ahurō mazdāoscā ārmaitishcā ashemcā frādaṭ-gaēthem manascā vohū khshathremcā sraotā mōi marezhdātā mōi ādā kahyāicit paiti.* The word *ādā*, a cardinal one in the Gāthās, denotes not only 'gift, reward, recompense,' but also the final reward or retribution given at the Day of Judgment. See Geldner, Bezzenberger's Beitraege, xv. 258.

[10] Ys. 30. 7 *ahmāicā khshathrā jasaṭ mananhā vohū ashācā.* By *ahmāi* Gaya Maretan is meant. Notice again the instrumental case *khshathra* as nominative; see Caland and Geldner in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxxi. 259, 323.

[11] Ys. 34. 15 *khshmākā khshathrā ahūrā ferashém vasnā haithyím dāo ahūm* 'by your Kingdom, O Ahura, thou wilt make the world regenerate according to wish.' Compare also Ys. 30. 8–9, *aṭ mazdā taibyō khshathrem . . . . aṭ tōi vaēm qyāmā yōi im ferashem kerenāun ahūm.*

[12] Ys. 30. 8 *aṭ mazdā taibyō khshathrem vohū mananhā vōividāiti.*

Marezhdika, or 'Mercy which careth for the poor.'[13] The two are invoked side by side in the Avesta; and the great Iranian Bundahishn adds that 'the function of Shahrēvar is to intercede with Auharmazd in behalf of the poor.'[14] It is this same sort of uprightness and compassion that should rule in the hearts of kings as we may infer from incidental allusions in later Zoroastrian texts.[15] It is this that contributes to the good rule on earth.

In the world of material things Khshathra Vairya has a special duty or charge as an Amshaspand; it is the oversight and guardianship of metals.[16] This function is recognized in the Avesta itself, as is shown by the pious utterance 'we worship Khshathra Vairya, the Amesha Spenta; we worship the Molten Metal; we worship Mercy that careth for the poor.'[17] The usual explanation, and also the traditional interpretation of Khshathra Vairya's association with metal is in connection with regal wealth, or precious metals as symbolic of sovereignty and metallic weapons as an instrument of power. This is

13 Yt. 2. 7 *marezhdikem thrāyō-drighūm yazamaide* 'we worship Mercy that careth for the poor'; cf. also Yt. 2. 2. Add perhaps the last line of the Ahuna Vairya formula: *khshathremcā ahurā ā im drigubyō dadat vāstārem.*

14 See the passage from the Gt. Iran. Bd. translated by Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta, ii. 313.

15 See references under Note 4 above and compare Sad Dar 3, 6 transl. West, *Sacred Books of the East*, 24. 261. [Add also the interesting passage from the Ravāyats, translated by Ervad E. K. Antia, *Cama Memorial Volume*, p. 162: 'The function of Khshathra Vairya is to guide sovereigns on the path of justice. He is always on the watch that sovereigns may act with justice. He is the friend of just rulers. A just ruler lives long. He is the protector of gold, silver, as well as other metals, and it is he who brings about an abundance of metals in mines. It is Khshathra Vairya, who bestows livelihood to Derwishes in this world, and recommends them for a sublime place in the next world.']

16 Cf. Gt. Iran. Bd. transl. Darmesteter, Le ZA. ii. 313; Sls. 13. 14, and especially 15. 14—19, 'metal is a counterpart of Shatvairō himself in the world; and whosoever propitiates melted metals, his fame subsists in the world, and the glory of Aūharmazd becomes his own in heaven' (after West's translation, *S.B.E.* v. 376). See also Zsp. 22. 8, where the archangel Shatvēr assigns to Zoroaster the care and keeping of metals, cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 47; West, *S.B.E.* xlvii. 161; and Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 497.

17 Yt. 2. 7.—*Khshathrem vairīm ameshem spentem yazamaide, ayōkhshustem yazamaide, marezdikem thrāyō-drighūm yazamaide.* Cf. also Vsp. 20. 1.—*vohu khshathrem yazamaide, khshathrem vairīm yazamaide, ayōkhshustem yazamaide.*

clearly implied in the Iranian Būndahishn and elsewhere.[18] Riches, authority, and power should go hand in hand with compassion or mercy and generosity.

But, perhaps, there is even something more back of this association of *Khshathra* 'Kingdom' with *ayōkhshusta* 'Molten Metal.' In an article published in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, 1890, p. lviii. *seq.*, I tried to show that the connection between the two was as old as the Gāthās (cf. Ys. 51. 9; Ys. 30. 7; Ys. 32. 7), and that according to Zoroaster's teaching the coming of the Kingdom, *khshathra* or *khshathra vairya*, was to be accompanied by a fiery flood of 'molten metal,' in which the wicked should be punished and the good purified, as described in full in the Būndahishn (Bd. 30. 19). If this view be right, it would make clearer the connection between the Amshaspand as a personification, and his duties as a presiding divinity in charge of the metal kingdom. In any case, the interchange between the ideas is possible; and even if it be argued that the material notion may have been old, we may still recall that Haurvatāt and Ameretāt are not only the genii presiding over waters and plants, but in a spiritual sense, more particularly, they are the archangels of Saving Health and Immortality. For that reason, and for others, we may safely concede that Zoroaster's idealizing tendency has, at all events, lifted this conception of Khshathra Vairya out of the domain of material things into the realm of the spirit. He has exalted the symbol of earthly sovereignty, riches, and power, if so we are to interpret it, into the dominion and empire which Ahura Mazda shall establish to banish evil from the world—or, to use the Prophet's own words—'that Kingdom which beholdeth the Sun,' which is synonymous with Paradise.[19]

However that may be, and whatever may be the direct or indirect connection between the two ideas in question, there can be no disputing the fact that the association of *khshathra* and *ayah khshusta*, or 'King-

[18] Gt. Iran. Bd. transl. Darmesteter, Le ZA. II. 313, and cf. Note 16 above.
[19] See Note 6 above.

dom' and 'Molten Metal' is as demonstrable in the Gāthās as in *ayōkhsusta* of the Younger Avesta (Vsp. **20**. 1; Yt. **2**. 7; Yt. **17**. 20). In a couple of Younger Avestan passages, moreover, it is perfectly evident that *khshathra vairya* means simply metal (see Yt. **10**. 125 and Vd. **16**. 6—both of them prose passages—cf. de Harlez, *Avesta Traduit*, p. xciii); and in one place in the Vendidad (Vd. **9**. 9) the words are employed as a synonym for a metallic instrument, of knife (see also Kanga, *Avesta Dictionary*, s. v.).

In conclusion, it may be stated again, as was stated at the outset: Khshathra Vairya, 'the Wished-for Kingdom, the Good Kingdom, the Kingdom of Desire,' in Zoroaster's teaching denotes, in a spiritual sense, that dominion which puts an end to evil and brings ideal rule, whether it be on earth by regal power and authority, or in the realm of Ormazd, the kingdom of heaven; and, secondly, in the realm of material things Khshathra Vairya presides over the kingdom of metals and minerals, which stand as a sign or symbol of power.

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MEDIEVAL GREEK REFERENCES TO THE AVESTAN CALENDAR.

THE most important source for our knowledge of the Avestan Calendar is undoubtedly the sacred text itself, which is supplemented by most helpful information furnished by the Pahlavi books. There are, however, other allusions to this chronological system which must be considered if our collection of data is to approximate completeness. The best known of these references are in Persian or Arabic, but while much attention has been given to them in the study of the ancient Parsi Calendar, little notice has been paid to the Byzantine accounts. Yet these medieval Greek accounts, too, have their importance, and as they are both few in number and scattered in books which are not easy of access, the translations of them may be of interest to the Parsi public. These translations are presented as a tribute to the memory of Dastur Peshotan Behramji Sanjana, one of their most distinguished priests and scholars.

It is to be noted that the earliest non-Parsi allusion to the ancient Iranian chronology is found in Quintus Curtius Rufus, a Latin historian of the first century A. D., who writes in his History of Alexander III, 3, 10 : "There followed the Magi 365 youths, clad in scarlet robes, equal in number to the days of all the year, for the year of the Persians is divided into so many days." There are no other references in the Latin authors to the Iranian Calendar, so far as I am aware, and the earliest Greek allusion known to me is the treatise of Georgios Chrysokokkes, written in 1346. This author tells us of his sources of information and gives us an impression of his honest wish to gain the truth. The text of Chrysokokkes, so far as it has been published, is found in Hermann Usener's study entitled, *Ad historiam astronomiæ*

symbola, Bonn, 1876, pp. 27-37. The translation of the portion of the Greek text which concerns us here is as follows[1] :—

"Long ago, as you know, my dearest Johannes, I pursued the investigation of this Persian matter before us, and had as a teacher a priest named Manuel, of the city of Trebizond. You, too, were often with me and took pleasure in what was said, and, so far from being averse to the acquisition of this subject, you embraced the science and urged me to set forth in more ordered fashion the words which had been spoken. Listen to me, then, as I describe the mere outlines of this chronology, and recollect, as far as I can, my teacher's words. In the first place we must recall how this system was brought from Persia and by whom it was translated into the Greek tongue. Manuel told me that one Chioniades had been bred in Constantinople, and had acquired all the sciences, but that he longed for yet another subject of study whereby he might get wisdom and practise the healing art with skill. Thus when he heard from some friends that he would not be able to attain his wish unless he went to Persia, he counted all as naught and hasted thither as fast as he might. On the way, however, he stopped at Trebizond, and there associated for a considerable time with the Great Comnenus.[2] Revealing to this prince his purpose, he received from him the utmost consideration, and proceeded to Persia with much honor. Chioniades soon became skilled in the ways of the Persians and was made a friend of their king, whose esteem he enjoyed. When, however, he was minded to learn astronomy he found none to teach him, for it is a law in Persia that they who will

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[1] For further information on Chrysokokkes see Weidler, *Historia astronomiæ*, Witemberg, 1741, p. 286; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, ed. Harless, Hamburg, 1790-1809, iv., pp. 153—154, xii., pp. 54-57; Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1897, p. 622; Usener, p. 23. Portions of the text here translated have also been edited by Ismael Boulliau, *Astronomia, philolaica*, Paris, 1645, pp. 211-214; Joseph Scaliger, *De emendatione temporum*, Geneva, 1629, pp. 522, 526-527; *Canones Isagogicæ*, Amsterdam, 1658, pp. 247, 249, 315; Denis Petau, *De doctrina temporum*, Antwerp, 1703, xi., p. 55.

[2] One of the Greek emperors of Trebizond, probably Alexios II., who reigned from 1297 to 1330. See the list of this dynasty given by Krumbacher, p. 1146, and consult Usener, p. 23.

may acquire all sciences but that Persians alone may pursue astronomy. Now when he had inquired the reason for this prohibition and learned that an ancient prophecy prevailed among the Persians to the effect that their kingdom would be destroyed by Romans acquainted with the science of astronomy, the rudiments of which they should have previously learned from the Persians, he knew not how to gain the knowledge he desired. However, after much toil and many services to the king, he succeeded, though with difficulty. According to the royal command, Chioniades was admitted by the teachers, and shortly became great among the Persians and was counted worthy of their king's favor. After he had acquired much wealth and gained many pupils he came again to Trebizond, bearing with him many books of the science of astronomy. These he rendered into Greek, as he thought best, and produced a work worthy of remembrance. There are also other books of the system of the Persians which he translated into Greek, as having in their first part detailed accounts of the chronology. This was the only system, however, which he rendered in Greek without a commentary, for he regarded it as plainer and more accurate than any other system, according to what my teacher said. Herein Manuel was correct, it would seem, since Chioniades had received it in this fashion—interpreted only by word of mouth by the Persians. This, then, is the way this system, which is called the Manual, was acquired. We set forth in the first place the chapters of which we shall discuss the interpretation below.

" This Zezi[3] or method was made for longitude 72 in the district of Chazaria which is called Tibene.[4] The entire longitude from west to east, or from the extreme commencement of one sea to the other, is 180 degrees.

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[3] Arab زيج Persian زيك.

[4] Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 231, and Usener, p. 17, identify Tibene or Tybene with the Armenian city of Dvin or Tovin near the modern Erivan (Lynch, *Armenia*, London, 1901, i., p. 201.).

"The year of the Persians was determined in the time of Iasdakerdes Sariar.[5] The beginning of this year was Tuesday, the beginning of the months was Pharbadin. When Iasdakerdes sat upon the throne this year was determined in two ways,[6] one according to their religion,[7] which is Pasita,[8] or non-bissextile. In both chronologies there are always 365 days, and 30 days in a month, and at the end of Asphantar they add five epagonal[9] days. According to the other year the determination was for the occupations[10] of the four seasons, and the commencement of the occupations, and this is called Kapisa,[11] or bissextile. Now, each month of this, too, has thirty days, but six days are added at the end of the year, for when the Kapisa year comes round there is an additional day. When these epagonal days are combined, there is an extra month every hundred and twenty years. Therefore the excess of the solar year over the lunar year is comprised in this period, which is thirty days. Every 1,460 years there is an extra year, and the first month Pharbadin is found in its proper place, and the entrance of the sun into Aries occurs on the first of Pharbadin. If we wish to calculate the Persian year, we take the years from the creation of the world and subtract from them 6,139, and the remainder is their year, reckoning from the first part of October with which the Persian year begins.

"The year of the Sultan Melixa.[12] A decree was issued by this Sultan that they should date the journals by his year, according to the commencement of the time of his year, when the sun begins to

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[5] Cf. Persian يزدجرد بن شهريار

[6] Scaliger, *Can. Isag.*, p. 250, argues that Chrysokokkes translated from an Arabic original, and that he should have said: "This year is of two kinds" (with intercalation and without).

[7] This should have been rendered, according to Scaliger, "equality."

[8] Arab. (سنة) بسيطة

[9] Literally, "furtive, stolen," a translation of the Arabic مسترقة

[10] Rather "usage," Arab. استعمال in Scaliger's opinion.

[11] Arab. (سنة) كبيسة

[12] The famous Jalāl ud-Dīn Malik Shāh ibn Alp Arslan the Seljuk.

enter Aries. Moreover, the commencement of each month occurred when the sun passed from one sign of the zodiac to another. The beginning of this year was Sunday. If 6,586 be subtracted from the number of years from creation of the world, the remainder is the year of Melixa. . . . Therefore the beginning of the year of the Sultan Melixa is when the sun enters Aries, and it enters now on the thirteenth of March."

A full translation of the text of Chrysokokkes, as it is given by Usener, in his book entitled *Ad Historiam Astronomiæ Symbola*, would be of little interest here.[13] The treatise of Chrysokokkes consists mainly of intricate rules for the reduction of Persian dates to Greek, and it will be sufficient, in my judgment, to cite two passages[14] which seem above its general level. These selections treat of the reckoning of months and days, and are as follows :—" On the calculation of the time of the months and days of the Persians. You must know that in the year 378 of the Persians their year began when the sun entered Aries. If then we wish to calculate the months and days of the Persians, we proceed as follows: Taking the required temporal period of the Persians, we subtract, according to the prescribed method, the years already mentioned, or 378. We take a quarter of the remainder, and this number comprises the days from the commencement of the year of the Persians until the equinox, which falls on the thirteenth of the month of March. Reckoning backward the days which have been calculated we find in which one of our months the beginning of the Persian year falls. We reckon the months as having thirty days, and take the days below thirty, and in this way is found on what day of the Greek months the day of the commencement of the Persian year falls. Furthermore, the first of the Persian year is the month Pharbadin.

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[13] See Usener's text, pp. 30—35. The passage from Theodoros Meleteniotes (cf. Usener, pp. 8—9, 19—21, Krumbacher, p. 623) published by Usener, pp. 18-19, is also devoted to chronological formulas.

[14] Usener, pp. 31, 32, 33.

"*Example.*—We subtract 378 from the 714th year of the Persians, and the remainder is 336, of which a quarter is 84. These are the days of the Persians from the beginning of their year till the equinox. Sixty days we give to the two months Pharabardin and Ardempeesti, and the remaining twenty-four to Chortat. The twenty-fourth of Chortat was found to coincide with the third of March. Take, then, 84 days from the beginning of the equinox. Thus the beginning of the year of the Persians is found to occur on the twentieth of December, for then the number is completed."

The second passage reads thus:—"On the calculation of the Persian day according to the required Greek month. We must observe on what day of the Greeks the beginning of the Persian year falls, and proceed from this day to the day of the required month. Adding the number of the days of the Greek year which have elapsed since the beginning of the Persian year, we divide it by thirty, and as many times as thirty is contained in it, so many months of the Persians do we count off, beginning with Pharbardin, and give the days left over to the following month.

"*Example.*—We desired to find to what month and day of the month of the Persians, the eighth of March corresponds in the Persian year 715. The beginning of the Persian year at this time has been found to fall on the twentieth of December. We take the number of days which are left in this month, that is, twelve, also thirty-one days of January, and twenty-eight of February, if it is not leap-year (if it were, we would take twenty-nine), and eight of March, total, seventy-nine. Dividing this by thirty, we have a remainder of nineteen. We then give the two periods of thirty days to Pharbardin and Artipees, and the remainder of nineteen to Chortat. In this way Chortat is found to have nineteen days on the eighth of March. The five or six epagonal days, as has been said in the section on the years and months of the Persians, are placed at the end of Asphantaremat."

The second Greek authority on the Iranian calendar is Isaakos Argyros,[15] a Byzantine monk, who wrote about a quarter of a century after Chrysokokkes. He composed an explanation of the Persian chronology, from which the old scholar Fredrick Sylburg copied a portion. This section of the treatise of Argyros is found in Jacob Christmann's edition of al-Farghani (*Muhamedis Alfragani Arabis Chronologica et Astronomica Elementa*), Frankfort, 1590, pp. 218-219. The translation of the passage from Argyros, which forms an interesting pendant to the account given by Chrysokokkes, is as follows:—

"The method of the Persian canons were drawn up by the mathematicians of that country, according to the first year of Iasdagerd Sarien Mastre,[16] king of the Persians, and their calculations were based upon the Persian year. This year falls 6,139 years after the creation of the world, and begins at midday on the new moon of the Persian Pharouartes, and is calculated according to the meridian through the Persian city of Tybene, which is 72 degrees distant from the Ntzaer Chalitat,[17] or, as the Persians say, from the extreme western sea. According to the Persians the months are named as follows: Pharouartes, Artipeest, Chortat, Tyrma, Mertat, Sachriour, Mecherma, Apanma, Aderma, Dema, Pechman, Asphandarmat, and the Masiarcha,[18] which the Greeks call epagonal. Among the Persians, as among the Egyptians, the year consists of only 365 days, and in each month of their reckoning there are thirty days and five are epagonal. It thus necessarily follows that the Persian year gains one day over the Roman, every four years, because every four years the Roman year has 366 days. Furthermore, every 1,460 years there is a gain of an entire Persian year, and once more the Persians and the Romans

[15] For further information on Argyros see Fabricius, iv., p. 155, xi., p. 126-130, Usener, p. 21, Krumbacher, p. 623, and compare Lagarde, pp. 230-232.

[16] Argyros evidently misread مستري (sic) for كسرى cf. Gildemeister in Usener, p. 17.

[17] Arab. جزا ير خا لدات "the islands of the blessed," whence the Arabs, following Ptolemy, reckoned longitude, cf. Gildemeister in Usener, p. 17.

[18] Lagarde, p. 231, correctly notes that we should read Mastaracha (Arab. مسترقة).

make the beginning of their years coincide. After the lapse of four years, however, the Persians again begin to gain one day over us, and so on regularly. The revolution of 1,460 years was determined at a point of time 307 years before the beginning of the reign of Iasdagerd, so that from that time the Persians again began to gain one day over us every four years."

The brief account of the Persian calendar given us by an anonymous author who wrote in 1443 is of particular interest in one respect. It furnishes us exact equivalents for four days of the year of Yezdagird 812 in terms of the Byzantine year 6951 which corresponds to 1443 A. D.[19] We thus learn that in this year March eleventh corresponded to Terma seventeenth, June twelfth to Mecherma twentieth, September fourteenth to Dema twenty-fourth, and December twelfth to Farvadin eighteenth. The passage under consideration is found in Joseph Scaliger's *Canones Isagogicae,* Paris, 1658, pp. 314-315, and in Denis Petau's work *De Doctrina Temporum*, Paris, 1703, ii., p. 213, and reads as follows :

" Aries was chosen, and it was found that at the end of the year 6951 from the creation of the world and at the beginning of 6952 the sun commenced to enter Aries on the eleventh of the month of March at 8, 29 : 40 A. M. Then 813[20] years of the Persians were completed, and the eleventh of March was the seventeenth of the Persian month Terma. In the same year on the twelfth of June at 2, 20 : 8 P. M. the sun began to enter Cancer, for then 813[20] years of the Persians were completed, and the twelfth of June was the twentieth day of the Persian month Mecherma. Moreover, on the fourteenth of the following September, when the year 6953 began and 6952 was completed, the sun commenced to enter Libra at 1, 24 : 28 A. M. of the same day. It was then the Persian year 813, and the fourteenth day of Septem-

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[19] To reduce Byzantine years to dates A. D., subtract 5508 from the Byzantine number, thus 6951—5508 = 1443, cf. Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie, Berlin,* 1826, ii., pp. 459-461.

[20] Scaliger corrects to 812. Consult also the rules given by Ideler, pp. 520-522, or the reduction of dates A. Y. to dates A. D.

ber was the twenty-fourth of the Persian Dema. On the twelfth of December of the same year at 7, 41 : 16 A. M. the sun began to enter Capricorn. Then 814[21] years of the Persian were completed, and the twelfth day of December was the eighteenth of Pharouarden, the first Persian month. In this fashion the four seasons of the year are determined, that is, the two equinoxes and the two solstices are chosen, as it is in the Persian manual, according to the year which has been described above."

It is almost certain that there were several more references to the ancient Parsi system of time. These allusions are either lost or exist in inedited manuscripts. William Burton, in his *Leipsana Veteris Linguae Persicae*, Lubeck, 1720, p. 6, refers to a manuscript at Lambeth, which has since disappeared.[22] The names of the Persian months, as Burton copied them from this source, are as follows : Pharphardin Ardempeas, Chortat, Tourma, Mertat, Sarebar, Mechir, Apan, Ader, Ntai,[23] Mpachman, Auphantar. Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Graeca*, iv, pp. 147-148, 151, 152, mentions as writers on Persian chronology Achmet and Mazunates (both probably Greek translations from Persian or Arabic), and Astrampsychos.[24] Whether their work is of value would be hard to say. In view of the treatises of Achmet and Astrampsychos which have already been edited, their reliability would seem doubtful. But the passages which I have rendered from the Greek of Chrysokokkes, Argyros, and the anonymous author seem to me to be well worth the attention of that noble community who preserve unsullied the ancient creed of their holy prophet, Zarathushtra.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

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[21] Scaliger corrects to 813.

[22] Consult also Lagarde, pp. 229-230.

[23] The combination *nt* is to be pronounced *d*, and *mp* is equivalent to *b* as in Modern Greek.

[24] See further Krumbacher, p. 630, Usener, pp. 24-26, and the passage from the Greek translation of Samps Mpouchares (apparently Shams ud-Din as-Samarqandi—not al-Bukhari, cf. Gildemeister in Usener, p. 15) edited by the latter scholar, p. 22.

THE LITERAL WORDING OF THE GĀTHAS.

These hymns, being unique, epoch making and also unrivalled in the richness of their historical connection, should be learned carefully by all Parsis, for their difficulties lie chiefly in matters of close interpretation, there being a mass of important meaning in them which is not disputed among respectable scholars. One of the first, as well as one of the most useful duties of a close critic is to turn their consecutive words into Sanskrit. Many years ago I had completed such a translation, and I contributed one chapter of it to a memorial volume of an importance surpassing that of most works of the kind.

My translation of Yasna XXVIII, into Sanskrit will be found at page 153 of the Festgruss to the late Professor Rudolph von Roth the editor of the Vedic portion of the Great St. Petersburg Sanskrit dictionary.

It is now several years old for it was offered upon the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his doctorate. It might be improved here and there, but it possesses unusual authority owing to the place where it appeared; I having also received the special thanks of the great vedist for it in a letter.

Professor Oldenberg in citing it in his Vedic Religion, (see 37 note), remarks that it recalls an ancient Indian piece.

And he notes that the Avesta language is nearer to the Indian Sanskrit, than some of the various dialects of Greece are to each other. I append the Zend equivalents to two of these strophes so that the Parsis may see how near their ancient language is to that of their primeval kinsman. The chief difference to the eye is that all or many of the 'S' sounds of Sanskrit are 'h' in the Zend, just as so many of the sibilant sounds in French, Italian, etc. are 'h' sounds in Spanish. I gave a simple text omitting the accents as the latter can be added by any reader for himself; and, I not being in Germany at the moment, I could not have corrected the proof-sheets so easily.

The text is also simply *pada*. The *sandhi* was omitted in order to show the real forms; it can be read like the accents by every scholar for himself. Here are my Indian equivalents for strophe 6.

6. *Vasunâ* [*â*] *gadhi manasâ dehi* [*he*] *ṛta-dâs*[1] *dirghâyo*[2]
Ṛshvâis tvam ukthâis [*su-*]*medhas Jarathushṭrâya* (sic) *ojasvat rabhas* [*ûti-dam*]
Asmabhyam ca asura yena dveshiṇas[3] *dveshâṅsi tûrvema.*

Here is the original Gātha:—

Vohū gaidi manaṅhā dâidī aṡâ-dâo dar(e)gāyū
Eresvaiṡ tū ukhdhāiṡ mazdā zarathuṡtrāī aojoṅhvaṭ raf(e)nō.
Ahmaibyāca ahurā yā d(ai)bishvatō dvaēṡāo taurvayāmā.

Here is strophe 7 in the Sanskrit.

Dehi [*he*] *ṛta tâm ṛtim* [*iti kila phalam puṇyam*] *vasos* [*phalâni*] *âptâni manasas*
Dehi tvam aramate Vishṭâçpâya (sic) *isham mahyam ca*
Dâs tvam [*su-*]*medhas kshaya*[4] *ca yena vas mantrân*[5] *çṛṇuyâma*[6] *radhodâs.*

And here is the Gātha:—

dâidī ashā tām ashīm vaṅhēuṡ āyaptā manaṅhō
dâidī tū âr(a)maitē viṡtāspāī aēṡem maibyācā
dâostû, mazdā khshayācā, yā vē māthrā srevaēmâ rādāo.

I also contributed the Sanskrit equivalents of Yas. 44 to the Transactions of the Congress of Orientalists at Paris in 1897 which will be followed, as soon as I can in any manner secure the time, by Sanskrit equivalents for the other chapters long since standing in manuscript.

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[1] *Asha-dâo* auch Voc. Sg.

[2] Veilleicht sollte das Neutr. *dirghâyutram* stehen, es fehlte aber dann das notwendige *ca*.

[3] Oder vielleicht **drishratas*.

[4] Imperativ von *kshi* "verfuge" oder ein Vocativ im Sinne von "regierend."

[5] Sonst = *mantravaktâ* (*mantrî*.)

[6] Andere lesen *sruyam â râdâ* [*asâm*]

AVESTAN *ZEVĪŠTYÉÑG AURVATŌ*, YS. 50-7.

A Contribution concerning Zoroastrian Angelology.

Shakspere's vivid image of 'heaven's cherubim horsed on the sightless, couriers of the air' presents a picture that few readers of Macbeth will forget, whether or not some remote lines of the Psalms may possibly have suggested the simile. In general the conception of celestial chargers is familiar elsewhere. We need only recall the horses that draw the chariot of the sun in all mythologies, from India onward, or the old Germanic conception of the steeds of the Valkyries. Mithra, Sraosha and Anāhita have their care in the Avesta. Herodotus, or is it Xenophon that alludes to this belief among the Persians. Dio Chrysostom (*Bor. Orat.* 36) tells of Zoroaster as chanting the praise of the chariot of the supreme god of the universe. The Pahlavi Būndahishn pictures the Fravashis, or guardian spirits, as mounted 'on war horses' when they fought against Ahriman at the beginning of the world. But the conception of the archangelic Amshaspands as mounted or driving is one to which attention has not been called in detail, and yet the idea is old.

The mere mention of the subject naturally brings at once before the mind the representation of the Lord God Ormazd on the Sassanian bas-reliefs, where the divinity is portrayed as mounted on a charger and presenting the crown to Ardashīr. The figure is familiar to all Iranian students.[1] But this is not all. In the Chapter on the conversion of King Vishtāspa, in my 'Zoroaster' (p. 65), I have given the traditional account of how three of the Amshaspands, or Archangels, came from heaven to the palace of the king as witnesses from Ormazd himself to

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[1] See Ed. Thomas, 'Sassanian Inscriptions' in *JRAS*, New Series, vol. iii., p 269 and p. 267, note 3; K. D. Kiash, *Ancient Persian Inscriptions*, p. 121; G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 606; Curzon, *Persia*, ii., 125 (the same cut being reproduced in my 'Ormazd, or the Ancient Persian Idea of God,' in *The Monist*, Chicago, Jan. 1899.)

the divinely-inspired message of the prophetic priest. These three heaven-sent envoys are Vohūman, Ashavahist and the Propitious Fire (Būrzhin-Mitrō, or Spēnisht, Av. Spénishta). Their glorious effulgence is so great that the palace of the king seems aflame with a blinding light; the courtiers trembled and all were filled with dread (cf. Dk. **7**. 4. 76; 7. 6. 13; Zsp. **23**. 7). This part of the narrative is further colored by the later Persian Zartusht Nāmah which graphically describes the messengers as majestic knights on horseback, in cavalier style, bristling with armor and clad in green (Zt. N. p. 510, Wilson; so also the Dabistan, tr. Shea and Troyer, p. 257). The Zartusht Nāmah is late, but I now believe that this conception of the Archangels as mounted on horses, or driving, is as old as the Gāthās themselves, if I rightly interpret a certain passage. I believe also that the Sassanian sculptor made no innovation, forced by art, when he represented Ormazd on horseback to match the figure of the king.

The passage in the Gāthās to which I allude is Ys. **50**. 7. The text in Geldner's edition runs:

aṭ vé yaojā z e v í š t y é ñ g a u r v a t ō
j a y ā i š perethuš vahmahyā yūšmākahyā
mazdā ašā ugréñg vohū manaṅhā
yāiš azāthā mahmāi hyātā avaṅhē

The three stanzas which directly precede this contain the Prophet's devout appeal to Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas to bestow the longed-for revelation which shall guide the faithful to Paradise, to grant him their visible aid and manifest sanction (*aibī-derestā ārīšyā avaṅhā zastāištā*) as well as to direct his tongue.

The old reading for *aurvatō jayāiš* was *urvatō jyāitiš* (Sp. Wg.). Professor Roth with his keen insight was the first to see that at least *aurvatō* was the better reading (*ZDMG*. xxv. 219; cf. also Millst *Gāthās* p. 590). Professor Geldner's edition of the Avesta proves this to have been right as his text and manuscript variations show. The reference is to horses, as Roth saw; and *zevīštyéñg aurvatō* means

'favorite steeds, beloved chargers.' But in my judgment the allusion is not to be interpreted through the Veda alone, as Roth interpreted it, but rather through direct Zoroastrian tradition. The bas-relief of stone and the inscribed page of the later Persian book with its twisted letters must also be our commentary. The verse adds a new link to the chain of unbroken Iranian tradition. It shows us that the Prophet for the moment used not a general metaphor, but actually thought of these holy angels as mounted knights, or as driving, and this conception is the one that is later repeated. The rendering in this light would be:

'Your favorite steeds—the stocky, sturdy ones—I shall yoke up by speeding my prayer to you, O Ahura, Mazda, Asha and Vohu Manah, with which (steeds) ye shall drive hither. To my aid may ye come.'

As for details and single words, the adjective *zevīštyēñg* is rendered as elsewhere in accordance with the Pahlavi which connects with the word the idea of 'friendship, favor, etc., the attribute being a derivative from a root *zu-*, which I have mentioned elsewhere ; for the formation compare Skt. *yáviṣṭha*.

The special term *aurvatō*, under consideration, is given in the Pahlavi by *arvand*; Neriosengh's Sanskrit version shows *vēgēna* 'with speed' (cf. Mills, *Gāthās*, p. 334). There can be little doubt any longer that Av. *aurvañta* has here the meaning 'horses'; we need only compare such passages as Ys. **57**. 27 *aurvañta*, Yt. **10**. 42 *aurvañta aspa*, or a half dozen other instances in Justi's *Handbuch*—see especially Ys. **11**-2 *aurvatãm yūkhta* 'a yoker of swift steeds'. The Pahlavi gloss there explains the word as 'war-horse' (cf. Spiegel, *Neriosengh*, p. 74, n. 8). Note also there the presence of the verbal root *yuj-*, in connection with *aurvant*.

The instr. *jayāiš* (for such is the oldest and best reading) is from a stem *jaya-* akin to Skt. *hayâ-* from *hi-* a root which is used specially of urging on horses (*e.g.* R. V. 3. 53. 24). and then of sending forth a hymn (*e.g.* R.V. **2**. 19. 7; **1**. 184. 4). Prayers and praises shall be

the impulse to the divine beings to yoke their steeds. We must take *yūšmākahya* objectively.

For *perethūš* one naturally thinks of Skt. *pṛthú-* which Roth rendered 'breit, stämmig' *i.e.*, 'broad, stocky, sturdy'—taking it as an attribute of the horses like *ugrēñg* and *zevištyēñg*. The Pahlavi version, it is true, sees in the word the meaning 'bridge' (*vatarg*). The variant readings of the Avestan manuscripts actually show also *peretūš*—see Geldner's footnotes. This can hardly be an allusion to the Chinvat Bridge; the plural and the sense speak against it, although attempts have been made to support both. If the 'bridge' notion be insisted on one might perhaps think of the word as being used metaphorically, or adjectivally, the horses being means of transferring from one place to another (cf. Skt. *tarani-* 'transferring,' and then 'raft boat, transport')—but this seems far-fetched.

From the syntactical standpoint it remains only to add that *ašā* and *vohū manañhā* are cases of the special usage of the instrumental familiar in the Gāthās, and with *yāiš* we must understand *aurvaṭbis*.

At all events the interpretation of the passage in the way suggested above makes everything simple. Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentās have their steeds on occasions as well as the angels of the Yashts or the Fravashis in the Būndahishn. The Zartusht Nāmah helps to clear up the Gāthās; the Sassanian bas-relief with its equestrian statue of Ormazd was not far astray. The picture which must have arisen before Zoroaster in his mind's eye as he chanted the Gāthā verse is clear; the godhead and the archangels seemed mounted, or ready to drive to his aid, as did the Fravashis of old on their chargers in the primeval war against Ahriman. The stanza itself would give a scene for the brush of an artist. Zoroaster, too, saw visions of heaven's cherubim horsed on the sightless couriers of the air!

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TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF THE PAHLAVI VERSION OF YASNA XXXII,

The Fifth Chapter of the First Gâtha.

INTRODUCTION.

The most trustworthy MSS., containing the Pahlavi text of the Gâthas, that still remain accessible, according to Geldner's researches,[1] are those which he names K 5 and its cousin J 2, both written A. D. 1323, together with the brother MSS., Pt. 4 and Mf. 4, both copied about 1780, from an Iranian MS. written about 1478. These latter two MSS. may be roughly described as second cousins, once removed, of the former two, so far as our information extends.

The Pahlavi text for this transliteration and translation of the Gathic Hâ XXXII, has been obtained from Spiegel's edition, which represents K 5, collated with the other three MSS. And, in the foot-notes, the letters S, J, P, M severally represent the MSS. K 5, J 2, Pt.4, Mf.4. When more than two of these four authorities agree in any reading, it is adopted, unless there be any special reason to the contrary, such as inconsistency with the Avesta text.

All the explanatory Pahlavi glosses are distinguished by being enclosed in parentheses; and the marginal notes of the original MSS., regarding the supposed speakers, are printed in italics, as headings to the stanzas, or the particular metrical lines, to which they appear to refer; but when the same marginal note is repeated, with reference to successive stanzas or lines, the unnecessary repetitions are not given. The age of these marginal notes is quite uncertain, but they *must* have existed in some common ancestor of the four MSS., most probably in the twelfth century; or they *may* have been introduced at the last real revision of the Pahlavi version, in the time of Khusrô Nôshirvân, probably about A.D. 530[1]. In the translation, words that are merely understood but inserted to complete the sense, are also printed in italics; and when

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[1] See his *Avesta, Prolegomena*, pp. XXIV—XXXIV.

the original Pahlavi word is quoted, its translation is often appended in italics, and marked as a parenthetical quotation.

It should be noticed that this is only a translation of the Pahlavi version, and is intended to show exactly how far the Persians understood the Avesta text in Sasanian times. For an admirable French paraphrase of the Avesta text itself, the reader should refer to Darmesteter's Zend-Avesta in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. XXI, pp. 234-242, which was prepared from the same authorities as I have used.

As the Sûdkar, Varshtmânsar, and Bako Nasks were commentaries on the Gâthas, they might be expected to explain difficult passages; and the last two do often refer to, or quote from, the Pahlavi version, as may be seen on reference to Dînkard IX, chaps. XXXII and LIV, in S. B. E., vol. XXXVII.

E. W. WEST.

TRANSLITERATION OF PAHALVI YASNA XXXII.

KHVÊTUMAÎTO HÂTO BÛN.

Frâz gôbishnîh-i Zaratûshtar.

1. *a.* Zak[1] jân-i valá[2] pavan khvêshîh bavîhûnast[3], zak-î[4] valá[5] vârûnîh levatá aîrmânîh ; (zak[6] mozd-î[7] Aûharmazd nafshá shêdayyâ-c[8] pavan dená, aêgh vârûn[9] va[10]-aîrmân[11]-î lak[12] havâêm, ashân ghal[13] bevîhûnast[14])

b. Zak-î[4] valá shêdâân pavan li-minishnîh (aêghmân[14] [15]mînishno aêdûno frârûno cîgûn Zaratûshtar, zak-î Aûharmazd aûrvâkhmanoîh (ashân ghal bevîhûnastô).

c. Lak[16] gôbâk yehvûnêm (aêgh, râyînîdâr-î lak yehvûnêm[17]); [18]valáshân[9] yakhsenunêm mûn lekûm bêshînênd (aêghshân[19] min[20] lekûm lakhvâr yakhsenunêm).

2. *a.* Avo[21] valáshân (shêdâân) Aûharmazd pavan sardârîh-î Vohûmanô[22] (amatash Vohûmanô[23] pavan tano mâhmân yehvûntô[24]),

b. Min Khshatrover barâ pasukhvo gûfto[26] va-Aharâyîh-ic-î[27] khûpo [28]hamkhâk-i nêvak kardo, (afôsh pavan tano mâhmân[29] yehvûnd,[30]

Dôshishno-î Ameshôspendân-i sûd-aûmandân.

c. aêgh) Spendarmad lekûm râî shapîr dôshêm (bôndag-minishnîh) [31]zak-î laná aîto (aêghmân pavan tano mâhmân[32]).

Pasukhvo-gôbishnîh-i Aûharmazd.

3. *a.* Aêdûno lekûm[33] harvispô[34] (mûn[35]) shêdâ havâêd (atân[36] min[37] Akômanô (aîto) tôkhmako[38] (aêghtâno tôkhmako[38] min tamá aêgh Akômanô-c).

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[1] J. zak-î. [2] S. J. âno. [3] P. adds o. [4] P. M. omit î.
[5] J. âno. [6] S. J. zak-î. [7] J. P. omit î. [8] S. J. shêdâân
[9] S. adds o. [10] J. omits va. [11] J. adds o. [12] S. adds î.
[13] J. avo. [14] S. J. add o. [15] S. prefixes va. [16] J. aêgh.
[17] P. M. bûvêm. [18] P. M. prefix va. [19] P. M. omit, ; S. adds o.
[20] S. mûn. [21] S. J. valá, for val. [22] P. M. omit ô.
[23] S. P. M. omit ô. [24] P. M. yehvûnêd.

TRANSLATION OF PAHLAVI YASNA XXXII.

Beginning of the Chapter relating to Kindred.
Statement of Zaratûsht.

1. *a.* That life of his[25] is begged for Kindred, that *life* of his *for* Serfdom with Confederacy; (that reward of Aûharmazd's own even the demons begged, for this *reason,* because " we are thy serf and confederate").

b. The demons of his *are* fancying as to me (thus: " our thought is as virtuous as Zaratûsht "), *and* that joyfulness of Aûharmazd (is begged by them) :—

c. " We shall become thy testifiers (that is, we shall become thy promoters); we shall hold those who offend you (that is, we shall keep them away from you").

2. *a.* To those (demons) Aûharmazd, through the influence of Vohûmanô, (when Vohûmanô (" *Good thought* ") became lodging in his body),

b. owing to Khshatrover (" *desirable authority* ") exclaimed in reply, and made even the excellent Aharâyîh (" righteousness ") a good companion (*who* also became lodging in his body,

Love of the Ameshôspends, the benefiters.

c. *and* thus *he spoke*) :—" On your account we love the good Spendarmad (*complete mindfulness*), her who is ours (that is, *she* is lodging in our bodies).

Reply speech of Aûharmazd.

3. *a.* " So, of all you (who) are demons (your) lineage (is) from Akômanô (" Evil-thought "), (that is, your lineage is from there where Evil-thought is also).

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[25] It is just possible to read zak-i and-i valâ, " so much of his," but the authors of the Pahlavi version probably supposed that Avesta *aqyâ* bore much the same relationship to *aṅhu* as *daqyu* bore to *daṅhu.*

[26] S. omits o and va.
[27] S. J. omit -ic-i.
[28] S. inserts va.
[29] J. adds o.
[30] S. yehvuntô; J. bûdo.
[31] J. inserts va.
[32] S. adds yehvûnâd.
[33] S. J. insert mûn.
[34] S. P. M. barvisto.
[35] J. omits.
[36] S. J. atâno.
[37] P.M. omit.
[38] S omits o.

Frâz-gôbishnîh-i Aûharmazd.

b. Mûn-ic lekûm (shêdâân[1]) kabed yezbekhûnê*d*, drôjanôtar[2] va-[3] *av*ar-mînishntar (yehvûnê*d*[4]);

c. Sagîtûnînê*d* mân min akha*r*îh-î zak[5] fradî*v*ishno,[6] (aêghmân Zaratûshta*r* yehabûn*d*[7]), mûntâno[8] asrâyishnîh (yehabûnê*d*) pavan bûmî VII.[9]

4. *a.* Mûn min zak[10] ayûjishno (zak-î[11] frârûno-îh yekavîmûnê*d*[12] pavan zak-î[11] ko*l*â 2 mindavam-î[13] mînôg va-stîh) ash f*râz* mînishno var*d*înê*d* (aêghash ba*r*â frê*v*ê*d*; *a*fash mînishno ba*r*â avo vinâs ka*rd*ano var*d*înê*d*[14]) anshûtâ[15] sarîtar dânishno[16] yehvûnê*do* (-î[17] dûshâkâs).

b. Mûn yemalelund zak-î[18] shêdâân dôshîdo[19] (aêgh, mindavam pavan *av*âyast-î[20] shêdâân yemalelûnd) ashâno[21] Vohûman sîshd (aêghshân min rakhîk).

c. [22]Zak-î Aûha*r*mаz*d* [23]khira*d*o nasînênd[24] va-aharâyîh-ic (aêgh, tapâh ba*r*â va*b*îdûnâñd).

5. *a.* Pavan zak[25] ko*l*â 2 frê*v*ê*d* anshûtâân,[26] pavan hû-zîvishnîh va-amarg-rûbishnîh (aêgh, avo anshûtâân[27] yemalelûne*d* aêgh: [27] Amat zîvastano shâye*do*[19] apa-gayêhê lâ yehvûnê*d* pavan râs-î lan*d*).

b. Mûn lekûm sarîtar mînishno, mûn shêdayyâ havâê*d*,[26] atâno sarîtar mînishno,

c. *a*ftân[28] sarîtar kûnishno va-gôbishno mûn f*râz* câshê*do*[19] (avo aîshâno aêgh: Min âno[29]) druvand (gônâk[30] mînôg) pâ*d*ôkhshâyîh.[31]

Frâz-gôbishnîh-î Zaratûshtar.

6. *a.* Kabed kênîgân[32] kêno bevîhûnî-aît (aêgh, vinâskârân[26] pâ*d*afrâs va*b*îdûnâñ) mûn srû*do*[33] yekavîmûnê*d*[26] (mûn gûft yekavîmûnê*d*[26] aêgh): amat val*d*shân asâr; (aêgh, pâ*d*afrâs pavan zak damâno bôndak ba*r*â va*b*îdûnâñd, amat rûbân lakhvâr avo[34] tano yehabûnd).

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[1] S. adds o. [2] S. drûjôtar. [3] S. omits va. [4] J. adds o.
[5] J. adds-î. [6] J. fradîftâr. [7] J dâ*do*. [8] P. M. aêghtân.
[9] P. M. place these three words after yehabûnd.
[10] J. zak-î ; P. M. omit. [11] P. M. omit î. [12] J. adds o.
[13] J. omits î. [14] J. var'zînê*d*. [15] J. mar*d*ûm ; P. adds î.

Further speaking of Auharmazd.

b. " Whoever, too, worships you (demons) much (becomes) more lying and more arrogant;

c. *and* makes us go *away* from the consequence of that deceit, (that Zaratûsht produced for us), which (occasions) a want of listening to you, in the land of the seven (regions).

4. *a*. *As to him* who is of that assembly, (his virtue remains in the affairs of both the spiritual and worldly *existences*); his thoughts you further change, (that is, you quite deceive him ; you also pervert his mind into committing sin), *and* the man (who is ill-informed) becomes worse-informed.

b. " *As to them* who speak what is loved by the demons (that is they speak anything by desire of the demons), Vohûmanô (" Good-thought ") is abandoned by them, (that is, far from them).

c. " They drive away the wisdom of Aûharmazd and Righteousness also, (that is, they shall complete *their own* destruction).

5. *a*. " As to both these you deceive mankind, as to virtuous living and immortal progress, (that is, you speak to mankind thus : 'When living is desirable, there will be no absence of life in our way.')

b. " Whatever is the very evil thought of you, who are the demons is worse thought through you.

c. " and your very evil deed and speech, which you proclaim (to others thus : *as* ' owing to his), the wicked, (smiting spirit's) predominance.' "

Further speaking of Zaratûsht.

6. *a*. Vengeance on many malicious ones is demanded (that is, inflicting the punishment of sinners), which is recited (which is said *to be* thus) : when they *are* eternal (that is, they shall fully inflict punishment at the completed time, when they give back the soul to the body.)

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[16] S. dahishno. [17] S. dênô-l ; J. P. M. omit. [18] S. omits l. [19] S. omits o.
[20] J. P. M. o. [21] P. omits o. [22] P. inserts va. [23] S. inserts va.
[24] S. nasinând. [25] S. J. omit. [26] J. adds o. [27] P. M. omit.
[28] S. adds o. [29] P. M. vald. [30] P. M. ganâk. [31] S. shalitâlh.
[32] J. P. add o. [33] P. M. omit o. [34] J. ghal.

b. Âshkârako âmârînî*d*âr, Aûha*r*ma*zd* ! (aêgh, pavan vinâs va[1]-ki*r*fako[2] âmâr va*b*îdunyên[3]) [4]va-zak-î pâhlûm âkâs-î pavan Vohûmanô[5] (mozd khavîtûnê*d*, aêgh, avo mûn *av*âye*d*o[2] yehabûntan[6]).

c. Pavan aê-î[7] lak,[8] [9]lekûm, Auha*r*ma*zd* ! khû*d*âyîh zak-î Aharâyîh âmûkhtagâno ba*r*â khavîtunî-aîto (amat lekûm pâ*d*akhshâyîh[10] bôndak[11] ba*r*â yehvûnê*d*,[12] ko*l*â aîsh[13] pavan frârûnîh âkâs ba*r*â yehvûnê*d*[14]).

7. *a*. Val*â*shân kênîg lâ mindavam âkâs hav*â*d zak[15] zanishno rôshanô (aêgh, pâ*d*afrâs pavan rûbân[16] mâ *c*and lâ khavîtûnd).

b. Mûn[17] zanishno âmûkhtênd (zak[15] mindavam âmûkhtênd zîshân pavan rûbân[16] zanishno yehvûnê*d*[16]) mûn srû*d*o yekavîmûnêd (aêgh): "Pavan zakî[18] and asîno (ashân *g*a*z*êd.[6])"

c. Mûn val*â*shân lak, Aûha*r*ma*zd* ! valâ-*c*-î aîrikhtak[19] âkâs hav*â*îh (aêgh, val*â*-*c*-î vinâskârtar pâ*d*afrâs khavîtunîh).

8 *a*. Val*â*shân shêdâân, kênîg vinâskâr zak-î Vîvaghânân Yim srû*d*o[20],

b. mûnash[21] *a*vo[22] anshûtâân *c*âshî*d*o[23] (aêgh): "Lan*â*kân[24] bisrayâ pavan banjishno[25] vashtamûnê*d*[26] (ham-*â*zako[23] anshûtâ[27] pavan sînôk-[28] masâî[29] b*â*zâî-masâî)."

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1 J. omits va.
2 S. omits o.
3 P. va*b*îdûnâ*n*d.
4 P. omits va.
5 J. P. M. omit o.
6 P. M. add o.
7 P. hanâ, M. âno.
8 S. adds î.
9 P. M. prefix va.
10 P. M. pâ*d*ôkhshâyîh.
11 M. adds o.
12 S. yehvûnd.
13 S. adds l.
14 S. J. add o.
15 J. adds î.
16 J. adds o.
17 P. M. amat.
18 M. omits.
19 S. frîftak, J. rîftak, P. M. rîftako ; but the Avesta word is irikhtem, which indicates the Pahlavi term aîrikhtak, applied to persons *incriminated* by suffering injury while undergoing an ordeal.

b. Manifest is the accountant, O Aûha*r*ma*z*d ! (that shall prepare the account, as to sin and good works), and he who is best aware, who *exists* in Vohûmanô ; (the reward he knows, that is, to whom it is necessary to give *it*).

c. Through these of thine, the sovereignty of you, O Aûha*r*ma*z*d ! *and* that of those instructed by Righteousness, is fully known ; (when your predominance becomes quite complete, every one becomes fully acquainted with virtue).

7. *a*. Those *who are* malicious are not aware of anything elucidating that infliction (that is, they do not know what, *or* how much, punishment is for the soul).

b. *They* who explain the infliction (teach the thing which constitutes an infliction for their *own* souls), which is recited (thus) :—" In so much *melted* iron (he tortures them)."

c. Which *of* them is really he who is incriminated thou art aware, O Aûha*r*ma*z*d ! (that is, thou knowest the punishment even of him who is very sinful).

8. *a*. Of those demons, a malicious sinner heard Yim, him who *was* son of Vîvanhâo,

b. by whom *it was* explained to men (thus) : " He eats the meat of our people in portions (equally greedy with the lapfuls *and* armfuls of mankind [30]) ".

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[20] S. J. omit o. [21] P. M. mân. [22] M. val*d*. [23] S. omits o.
[24] S. lan*d*igâno. [25] S. nabjishno ; J. P. M. bajishno. [26] J. adds o.
[27] S. va-anshûtââno ; P. M mardûm. [28] S. sînô. [29] P. M. prefix va.

[30] Probably referring to the legend of King Jamshêd and the demon beggar with an insatiable appetite ; told in the Persian Rivâyat of Dârâb Hormazyâr, folios 347-8 of the copy in the Bombay University Library.

Dôshishno-i Zaratûshtar.

c. Valdshân-ic bên (zak-î[1] Gâsâno[2]-i) li (pavan Gâsânîgîh barâ dôshîdo[3]) lak, Aûharmazd! barâ vijîdo[4] akhar (aêgh, lak-ic, pavan khûp[5] dâshto).

Gar'zishno-i Zaratûshtar.

9. a. Pavan dûsh-âmûjishnîh-î[6] srôbô (ashân) merencînîd (shêdâân[7]) valâ (mûn zak-î) zîvishn-aûmand khirado âmûkhto (avo aîshân). (Aîto mûn aêdûno yemalelûnêd[8]-aê :) "srôbô (ashân) merencînido[9] valâ."

b. (mûnshân) barâ[10] zak-î li îshtî[11] avôrdo[12] (padmâno-î[13] kardo[14] dâshto-î[15] khvâstako[4]-î pavan dastôbar-î li avâyedo[16] dâshtano-î amat shâyedo[16] dâshtano, pavan zak râs shâyedo[4] dâshtano)-î âr'zûko[4] aîto[10] pavan Vohûmanô,[4] (aêgh, amat pavan frârûnoîh[12] yakhsenund avâyishnîg).

c. Pavan valdshân milayâ-î mînôgîhâ, Aûharmazd-î Ashavahishtô,[4] avo lekûm gar'zîd[17] (aêgham gâsânîgîh[18] lâ rûbâk ; lî-c gar'zam).

10. a. Valâ[19] gabrâ avo denâ-î[20] li srôbô merencînishno yehabûnd[21] (aêghash arûbâkîh[22] avo dênô yehabûnd) mûnash sarîtar pavan[23] vênishno yemalelûntô[24] ;

b. gôspend pavan kolâ 2 az ash,[25] va[26]-khûshêdo-c ; [27]amat-ic-ash dahishno[28] avo drevandân yehabûnd[29] (afôsh merencînishno yehabûnd[30]).

c. [31]Amat-ic-ash vâstar vîyâpânînîd[8] (aêghash tapâh barâ kardo, afôsh merencînishno[32] yehabûnd[8] ; amat-ic-ash, pavan pêdâkîh, khandahgâno[4] yehabûnd[8] avo aharûbân[33] aêghash âshkârako[4] avo[34] khvâsto[35]-aûmand afôsh merencînishno yehabûntô).

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[1] P. M. omit î.
[2] P. M. omit o.
[3] S. J. M. dôshîdano.
[4] S. omits o.
[5] P. adds o.
[6] J. omits î.
[7] P. M. shêdâ-c.
[8] J. adds o.
[9] M. omits o ; S. has î.
[10] J. omits.
[11] J. îshto.
[12] M. omits o.
[13] S. omits î ; P. M. omit o.
[14] P. M. kardano.
[15] P. omits o-î.

Love of Zaratûsht.

c. Those, too, among (them, who thoroughly loved) my (Gâthas, as Gâthic lore) *are* selected afterwards *by* thee, O Aûharmazd! (that is, *are* considered, even *by* thee, as good).

Complaint of Zaratûsht.

9. *a.* Through the evil teaching of assertion, that *faith* is destroyed (by them, the demons, which the) wisdom (that is) living, taught (to others). There are *some* who would state thus : " assertion, that *faith* is destroyed (by them),"

b. (by whom) that property of mine is snatched away (the agreement made is maintained, which is the needful that is necessary for the maintenance of my highpriest, whom, when it is possible to keep, it is proper to maintain in that way) which is desired by Vohûmanô, (that is, when they maintain *him* with propriety, *it* is desirable).

c. As to those words which spiritually, O Auharmazd! *are* Ashavahishtô's *it is* complained to you (that my Gâthic lore is not progressive; I, too, complain).

10. *a.* That man produced destruction to this word of mine, (that is, want of progress is produced for the religion by him) who is called very evil in his look ;

b. *at* cattle with both of *his* eyes, and even at the sun ; also when a gift is presented by him to the wicked, (and destruction is produced thereby).

c. Also when pasture is made a desert by him, (that is, its devastation is accomplished, and destruction is produced thereby) ; also when, in publicity, jeers at the righteous are produced by him, (that is, publicly, at *any one* petitioning him, and destruction is produced thereby).

[16] S. J. omit o. [17] P. M. add o. [18] S. omits lh. [19] S. ano.
[20] S. omits l ; J. has o. [21] S. adds o. [22] J. omits lh. [23] J. omits.
[24] S. omits o ; P. M. gûfto. [25] J. as. [26] S. l. [27] P. prefixes va.
[28] P. M. dâshto. [29] S. omits. [30] J. P. add o. [31] M. prefixes va.
[32] J. omits o. [33] S. adds o. [34] P. M. gbal. [35] P. M. omit o.

11. *a.* Val*d*shân-ic[1] avo (den*â*-î)[2] li merencînishno yehabûnd (aêgh, arûbâkîh avo (dênô yehabûnd) mûn zîvishn-aûmandîh[3] (yema*l*e-lûnd aêgh amat[4] zîvastano shâye*d*o pavan râs-î lan*d*) va-drevand hav*d*d va[5]-pavan masîh[6] kâhînênd, vatarîh-ic[7] (aêgh, pavan[8] pêshûpâyî*h*[9] va-pasûpâyîh[10] vinâs va*b*îdûnâñd).[11]

b. Ka*d*ak-khû*d*âî, gab*r*â nêsh*â* (yemalelûnd, aêgh : "Mânpatâno[12] mânpat[13] hav*d*êm); va-a*v*ôrênd[14] zak-î rêkhen-ic[15] vindishno[16]; (aêgh anshûtâ pavan staham vakhdûnd,[17] aêgh khvâstak ba*r*â avo hamîh yehabûnê*d*[4]).

c. Mûn zak-î val*â*-î[18] pâhlûm aharûbo; Aûha*r*ma*zd* ! ash[19] ba*r*â hinkhitûn*d* ; ash râ*d*îh rêshînênd-î pavan Vohûman[20] (aêgh, nihâ*d*ako-î[21] shapîrân, pavan frârûnoîh[16] hinkhitûnd ba*r*â ramîtûn-î[22] aharmôk.

12. *a.* Mûn rêsh srâyênd, pâhlûm kûnishno avo anshûtâân[23] (sâstârâno[16] *a*pa*d*mân-kûshishnîh) ;

b. Avo val*d*shân, Aûha*r*ma*zd* zanishno gûfto[21] mûn min zak-î[24] gôspendân[4] merencînishno[21] aûrv*â*khmanîh,[25] yemalelûnd, va-zîvishn-aûmandîh.

c. Val*d*shân, Grehmako[21] min Aharâyîh dôshaktar, mûn Karapo (hav*d*d ; aêghshân[26] khvâstako[21] shapîr medam*â*unê*d*[4] aêgh kâr va[27]-ki*r*fako) ; va[27]- khû*d*âyîh bavîhûnd pavan drûjishno[28] (pavan *av*ârûnîh).

13. *a.* Mûn khû*d*âyîh pavan Grehmako[21] bavîhûnê*d*[4] (aêgh, pâ*d*akh-shâyîh[29] pavan pârako bavîhûne*d*) ash zak-î[18] sarîtar bên demôn pavan mînishno, (aêgh pavan aê[30] mînishno bavîhûnê*d*[4] aêgh : "100 ba*r*â yehabûnam,[31] va[32]-200 lakhvâr yanse*b*ûnam[33]-ê).

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[1] S. has m*d* for ic. [2] J. omits î. [3] S. omits îh.
[4] J. adds o. [5] J. omits va. [6] S. masâî.
[7] S. adds î ; J. omits ic. [8] S. omits o. [9] S. J. have a for û.
[10] S. paspâîh ; J. omits y ; P. M. pasâûpâyîh.
[11] Compare Dînka*r*d, VII. viii. 34, 35.
[12] P. M. mânpato. [13] P. M. mêsnakpato.
[14] P. M. va-shavacrûnd. [15] P. M. raêkhn. [16] P. M. omit o.
[17] S. vagdûnd ; J. vakhdûnâ*ñ*d. [18] S. omits î. [19] P. M. omit.

11. *a*. Those, too, produce destruction for (these of) mine (that is, they produce want of progress for the religion) who (say that) the possession of life is ("when it is possible to live in our way"), and they are wicked and reduce in superiority, even *through* iniquity (that is, they would commit sin in leadership and vassalage).[34]

b. *To* the householder, man *or* woman, (they speak thus: "We are the over-house-owners," and) they appropriate that acquirement [34] of property also, (that is, they seize the person with violence, so that he gives up the wealth to *their* hoard).

c. Whatever is his who is perfectly righteous, O Aûha*r*ma*zd*! (is fully established by him; his liberality,) which is through Vohûman, they render harmful; (so that the decision of the good, settled through virtue, is the casting away of the apostate).

12. *a*. Whoever assert *that* wounding is the best work for human beings, (the immoderate fighting of tyrants[35]);

b. for them Aûha*r*ma*zd* announced punishment. *Also for those* whose joyfulness and possession of life, they say, is (owing to) the slaughter of cattle.

c. *Also for* those who (are) Karaps, Grehmako ("Greed") is dear than Righteousness (that is, wealth seems to them better than duty and good works), and they seek authority through falsehood, (through wickedness).

13. *a*. *Also for him* who seeks authority through Greed, (that is, seeks predominance through a bribe), that which is very evil is in residence in his mind (that is, in this mind, he claims that "I shall give up 100, and I should take back 200").

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[20] S. J. dená. [21] S. omits o. [22] M. ramitund.
[23] J. adds o; P. M. add ac. [24] P. M. omit l.
[25] J. has ishno for ih. [26] S. adds o. [27] S. omits va.
[28] J. drûjinishno. [29] S. shalitâih; P. M. pâ*d*ôkhshâyih.
[30] P. M. hanâ. [31] J. omits. [32] S. J. omit va.
[33] J. P. M. omit â. [34] Compare Dinkard VII, viii. 36. [35] *Ibid*. 37.

b. Ahvân[1] merencînî*d*âr havâ*d* (aêgh, gâs-î[2] tam*â* ba*r*â tapâhînênd), mun (pavan zak-î val*â*)[3] zak-ic-i Aûharma*z*d (zanishno) [4]gar'zishno kâmako[5]; (aêgh, pavan zak shalîtâîh[6] zyash[7] aîto, ashân[8] zak *av*âye*d*o,[5] amat anshûtâ,[9] aêvako levat*â* tanê, gha*l* kûshênd).

c. Mûn pavan aê-î[10] lak[1] mânsar gôbâk hav*â*d, (aêgh, pêshûpâî[11]-î pavan dênô hav*â*d) val*â*shânash[12] pâyênd[13] min nik*ê*zishno-î Aharâyîh; (aêghash aharmok,[14] min kâr va-ki*r*fako[5] ka*rd*ano, gha*l* pâ*d*îrânînênd.[15]).

14. *a*. Val*â* (mûn[16]) pavan Grehmak[14] masîh, ba*r*â pavan zak-î Kêvîghân[17] khira*d*o, ba*r*â yehabûnê*d*[1] (mûn shalîtâîh[6] pavan[18] pârak yehabûnê*d*[1] pavan khira*d*o-i[19] valâshân[20] mûn, pavan mindavam-î[21] shân,[22] kûr va-kar).[23]

b. Pavan zak-î[2] var'jâvân (*av*ârûn[14] dânâkân[24]) va-frêh-dêvânân[25], (mûn, pavan *av*ârûnîh, hanband-i[26] pavan[27] babâ[28] yakhsenund); va-amat-ic pa*d*îrênd âno[29] drevandân aîyyârîh, (ac pavan khira*d*o-î val*â*shân yehvûnê*d*[1].)

c. Va-amat-ic[31] avo tô*r*â zanishno gûfto: "mûnash[32] zak-î[33] bên, zak-î dûraôsh gûfto[34] avo[35] aiyyârîh" (ac pavan khira*d*o-î[36] val*â*shân yehvûnê*d*[37]).

Fraz-gôbishnîh-i Zaratûshtar.

15. *a*. Anyâtûnishnîh[38] râî (amat ba*r*â avo den*â* dênô lâ yâtûnd) ba*r*â aûbêno[39] yehvûnd, mûn Kîg[40] va-Karapo hav*â*d;

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[1] J. adds *o*. [2] S. omits î. [3] J. âno.
[4] P.M. prefix va. [5] S. omits o. [6] P. M. pâ*d*ôkhshâyîh.
[7] J. ash. [8] S. J. ash. [9] P. M. mar*d*ûm.
[10] P. M. hanâ-î. [11] S pêshvîh; J. pêshupâî. [12] P. M. omit ash.
[13] P. M. netrûnd. [14] P.M add *o*- [15] J. S. pâ*d*îrânênd.
[16] P. M. omit. [17] S. Kîgâno; J. Kïgâno. [18] S. P.M. omit.
[19] J. omits î. [20] P.M. insert yehvûne*d*. [21] S. J. P. omit î. [22] S. adds o.
[23] P. M. have kar va kûr. [24] S. J. add o. [25] So J.; P.M. have dêvânâc; S. reads dînâ "decision," and substitutes its synonym dâ*d*îstâno, but both these words require an

b. They are destroying existence, (that is, they cause the complete ruin of yonder world), whose desire is the (oppression and) lamentation of those even of Aûharmazd, (through those who are theirs ; that is, in that dominion which is his, it is convenient for them, when the people fight together, one with the other).

c. Whoever are testifying as to this *sacred* text of thine (that is, are leading in religion), they exclude such a one from the exposition of Righteousness ; (that is, they hinder its apostate from performing duty and good works).

14. *a*. He (who) gives away greatness through Greed, has only the wisdom of the Kêvîs ; (whoever gives predominance for a bribe is, as regards wisdom, *one* of those who *are* blind and deaf in their affairs).

b. As to those who *are* conspicuous (those wickedly wise) and those of many demons,[30] (a collection of which they keep at the door for wickedness) ; and even when they accept the assistance of those wicked ones (it occurs really through their astuteness).

c. And also when, at the slaughter of an ox, *it* is said " whoever be he that is about it, he who is called ' death-preventing ' is for assistance" (it occur really through their astuteness).

Further speaking of Zaratûsht.

15. *a*. On account of not coming (when they do not come into this religion), but become heedless, *they* who are Kîgs and Karaps ;

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additional ân for the plural. Compare Pahl. fradivishno, for Av. divamnem, in Yas. XXXI, 20 *a*. Here we might read frêh-divânân, " those of many deceits," as a mere transcript of the Av. fraidivâ, but the Pahlavi writer more probably thought divâ was a mere variant of daêvâ. [26] P.M. hanbandag, " fellow-servant " (?). [27] S. omits.

[28] P. M. bûn. [29] S. vald. [30] Or it might be " deceits, or frauds" (see note 25); but this meaning is not confirmed by the glosses.

[31] S. adds î. [32] P. prefixes va. [33] J omits ; S omits l. [34] S. omits o.

[35] M. omits. [36] S. J. omits î ; S. repeats khirado-î. [37] J. adds o.

[38] S. omits î; J. substitutes o. [39] S. aûbâno. [40] S. Kigo ; M. Kiv

b. aê*d*ûno val*â*shân madam amat bevîhûnd[1] (aêghshân[2] den*d* mindavam[3] avo[4] nafsh*d* yehabûn*d*[2]) mûnshân[5] lâ zîndagîh pavan shalîtâîh kâmak[6] (aêghshân[7] pavan shalîtâî nafsh*d* zîndagîh-î aîshân[2] lâ *av*âye*d*).

c. Avo val*â*-î lak[8] val*â*shân[2] ko*l*â 2 de*b*rûnâñd[9] (avo val*â*-î[10] lak asrûn Khû*r*da*d*o[11] Amû*r*da*d*[12]) bên zak-î Vohûmanô[13] demôn (*b*ên Garô*d*mânô[14].)

16. *a*. Ham-aê*d*ûno, *c*îgûn pâhlûm pavan farâkhû[15] hûshîh (pavan dânâk hûshîh) âmûkhtishno[16] zakî dâhm shâe (î[17] vêh mar*d* shâe),

b. Pavan shalitâîh[18]-î Aûha*r*ma*zd* amat, pavan zak-î val*â*[19] (damâno[20]) zak-í li (hâvishto) âshkârako[11] (yehvûne*d*[21] zak-î[22]) pavan gûmânîgîh[23];

c. Amat kêno[11] avo drevandân (aêgh, vinâskârâno[20] pâ*d*afrâs[24] va*b*îdûnâñd', val*â*-î pûm*d* khvâstâr (mûn[25] *av*istâk[26] va-zand yemalelûnê*d*[2]) ar'jânîgîh[27] (aêghash mozd yehabûnd).

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1 P.M. yehabûnd. 2 J. adds o. 3 M. adds î. 4 J. ghal.
5 P. amatshân. 6 J. adds *o*; P.M. omit the word.
7 S. adds o; P. M. omit this and the four following words, including zîndagîh-î.
8 J. has val*â* va-avo lako. 9 S. J. de*b*rûnd; P. de*b*rûnyôn. 10 J. omits î.
11 S. omits o. 12 J. adds o; M. prefixes va. 13 P. M. omit o.

b. Thus, though they petition[28] (that this thing be given to their own), whose desire is no life in their dominion, (yet, in their own dominion, the life of others is not necessary for them).

c. *As* to him who is thine, they shall, both of them, convey *him* (attaching Khûrdad *and* Amûrdad to him who is thine) into the dwelling of Vohûmanô, (into Garôdmânô, "*the supreme heaven*").

16. *a*. So likewise, as the best in wide intellect (in wise intelligence) is the teaching which should be the devotee's (which should be the good man's),

b. through the authority of Aûharmazd, when, at the (time) of his, that (disciple) of mine (becomes) revealed, (he who is) in privacy;

c. when retribution is for the wicked (that is, they shall inflict the punishment of the sinner); *and for* him whose mouth is a suppliant (who recites the Avesta and Zand) *there* is requital (that is, they give him a reward).

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[14] P. Gârôdmân; M omits final o. [15] S. farâkhvo. [16] S. prefixes va.
[17] M. omits î. [18] P. M. pâdôkhshâyîh. [19] J. âno.
[20] P. M. omit o. [21] J. adds o. [22] S. M. omit î.
[23] J. gumânîgîh. [24] P. M. pâdôfrâs. [25] J. aêgh.
[26] P. M. *a*ristâk. [27] P. M. add î.
[28] Alluding probably to the begging for eternal life, mentioned in § 1.7.

It will be seen from this translation, that the Pahlavi translators had a fairly practical knowledge of the Gâthic dialect of the Avesta. Their usual mode of proceeding seems to have been, first to divide each metrical line into two or three phrases which they could understand; each of these they then translated into a Pahlavi sentence, to which they generally appended a Pahlavi paraphrase, to make the meaning clearer, for which purpose they also inserted occasionally some additional Pahlavi words, not expressed in the Avesta text. Now and then, an alternative translation is introduced by such words as "there are *some* who would state thus:" implying either difference of opinion, or subsequent revision. These alternative translations are very rare in the Pahlavi Gâthas; one occurs above in § 9 *a*, and another will be found in Yasna XXIX, 11*c*; but they are much more frequent in the Pahlavi Vendidad; difference of opinion on matters of ritual being more usual than on matters of doctrine.

As most sentences in Pahlavi can be translated in more than one way, the paraphrases are very useful for determining the correct meaning of the Pahlavi text; but, even with their assistance, and that of the Avesta text, it is difficult to avoid errors in an Englsh translation, although the meaning of nearly every word in the Pahlavi version is well-ascertained.

The Avesta word Gerĕhmô, which occurs thrice in this chapter, is merely transcribed into its Pahlavi form Grehmako, and is variously explained by the Pahlavi glosses. In § 12*c* it is defined as a wish for "wealth" to be obtained by the use of unlawful authority. In § 13*a* it is explained as "bribe given" to obtain authority for extortionate usury. And in § 14*a* it is interpreted as "a bribe accepted" for giving such authority. In all three cases, therefore, Gerĕhmo was understood by the Pahlvi translator as a desire to obtain illicit or extortionate gain. The best English word for expressing this desire seems to be "Greed," and this appears to agree with the probable etymology of the Avesta word. It was twice translated as "a devouring" in SBE. vol. XXXVII, p. 259.

E. W. WEST.

AVESTA *VĀREMA.*

In Yasna 10, 14 of my edition I have written *vârem acaire.* It would have been better if I had written *vârema caire,* although the difference between the two readings is only slight. According to the metre, *vârema* is trisyllabic, thus *vârem-a,* not *vâr(e)ma.* The *a* is the shortened preposition *â* which serves here either as a verbal prefix or as a postposition : thus *vârem-ă* or *vârem ă-* stands for *vârem â* or *vârem â*-(prefix *â*). The *a* in *vârema* is analogous to that in *nmânay-a* "in the house," *i.e. nmâne â*; but in *acaire* it is analogous to that in *ă-vazaiti* (Jackson, An Avesta Grammar, § 239 and 18 Note 1). In any case the stem of the word is not *vâreman* (Justi) but *vâra,* and our form *vârema* in Yasna 10, 14 is not to be separated from *vârema* in Yasht 17, 2. Some future scholar who is so fortunate as to solve the riddle of the difficult passage Yasht 5, 130 will probably identify the word *vârema* which occurs there with both the other instances.

The Pahlavi Translation paraphrases *vârema* or *vârem* in Yasna 10, 14 by *vârôm* or *vâlôm,* and implies in a gloss that a portion of the human body is meant by the word. This *vâlôm* is found again in the sixth book of the Dinkard, cf. West in Sacred Books, XVIII., p. 270, note 3. From the context *vârôm* must there signify 'heart' and a gloss in one MS. actually adds the word دل *dil* 'heart' in the margin as West kindly informs me. This gives the key to *vârema,* and the Veda corroborates in this case what the Parsi tradition teaches. Avesta *vâra* answers to Skt. *hṛd* in meaning. Now in the Veda *hṛd* is conceived of (1) as the seat of understanding. In the fine Varuṇa hymn, for example, we read in the second strophe (Rv. 5, 85, 2)

hṛtsu kratuṁ Varuṇo apsv agniṃ

divi sûryam adadhât sômam adrau.

"Vāruna has placed the understanding in the heart, he has placed Agni in the waters, the sun in heaven, and Soma on the mountain."

Similarly in Yasht 17, 2 it is said of Ashi Vañuhi: *uta hê âsnem khratûm ava-baraiti vârema* "and she places natural understanding in their hearts (*i. e.*, of the Saoshyants)."

In the second place (2) in the Veda *hṛd* is used in a more anatomical sense as the place of the draughts of Soma that have been taken into the stomach. We have frequent mention of the *somâso hṛtsu pītâsaḥ, e.g.* Rv. 1, 168, 3, 179, 5; also 8, 48, 12. Especially interesting is a verse that has been constantly misunderstood. I refer to 8, 2, 12:—

hṛtsu pītâso yudhyante
durmadâso na surâyâm
ûdhar na nagnâ jarante

'The soma draughts that have been quaffed contend with each other in the heart (= stomach) just like people who are very drunk from brandy; they (the soma draughts) keep active (wakeful) like naked persons all the night (from cold[1]).'

I now attempt once more to render the difficult passage, Yasna 10, 14, varying somewhat from the Pahlavi translation.

mâ mê yatha gâush drafshô
âsitô vârema caire,
frasha frayañtu tê madhô;
verezyañuhâoñhô jaseñtu.

'Do not go to my heart (*i.e.* stomach) too quickly like the cow as liquid[2] (*i.e.*, the milk); but let thy inspiring effects reach farther; let them come with a good conscience." The good conscience of the haoma-drinker is the consciousness of having fulfilled a good work, namely, the pure ecstasy which the haoma produces in contrast to the wretched intoxication, the evil effects and remorse ("moralischer Katzenjammer') which the other drinks produce *yôi aêshma haciñte khrvîm drvô* (Yas. 10, 8).

K. F. GELDNER.

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[1] *ûdhar* = *râtri*, Naigh. 1, 7. Here it designates still more precisely the cold night; it answers to Avesta *aodare* in Yasna 51, 12.

[2] In the same manner *mâm* (*gâm*) *hvâstãm* 'me (the cow) when boiled' (Yas. 11, 2) is equivalent to 'my milk when boiled.' For *hvâsta* see Vend. 5, 52, and Nîrangistãn 57.

VENDIDAD XVIII.

1. "Denn es giebt vielerlei Leute," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra; (darum merke dir:) mit Unrecht trägt den Penom, wer nicht mit dem Glauben gegürtet ist, fälschlich nennt er sich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathustra."

2. "Mit Unrecht führt den Ungeziefer-Töter, wer nicht mit dem Glauben gegürtet ist, fälschlich nennt er sich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra."

3. "Mit Unrecht trägt den Baum(zweig), wer nicht mit dem Glauben gegürtet ist, fälschlich nennt er sich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra."

4. "Zum Schaden handhabt die Geissel,[1] wer nicht mit dem Glauben gegürtet ist, fälschlich nennt er sich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra."

5. "Wer die ganze Nacht über schläft, ohne den Yasna zu beten oder (die Gāthās) herzusagen, ohne zu memorieren oder zu amtieren ohne zu lernen oder zu lehren, um den zu besiegen, der nach dem (ewigen) Leben trachtet[2], der nennt sich fälschlich einen Priester. Nenne ihn nicht Priester," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra."

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[1] Das sonst *aspahe ashtra* genannte Instrument. *mairim* (Adv. von *mairya*) ist eine durch den Zusammenhang gebotene Steigerung von *ainim* (= Skt. *anyathā* 'fälschlich ungehörig, unerlaubt' vgl. *Daśakumāraćar.* p. 164, 21 *tām asāv anyathābhyamanyata* 'jener trug unerlaubte Gelüste nach ihr.')

[2] Den Ahriman. 'Wachet und betet, dass ihr nicht in Anfechtung fallet' Matthäus 26, 41.

6. "Den sollst du Priester nennen," also sprach Ahura Mazda, "o frommer Zarathushtra, der die ganze Nacht über die rechte Wissenschaft zu Rathe zieht, die vor der Enge bewahrt und die Richterbrücke weit macht,[1] die ein gutes Gewissen giebt, die zum (ewigen) Leben, die zum *Asha* und zum besten (Ort) im Paradies führt."

7. "Frage mich wiederum, o lauterer, mich den segensreichsten Schöpfer, den weisesten, der die Frage am besten beantwortet; so wird es dir besser ergehen, so wirst du gesegneter werden, wenn du mich wieder fragen wirst."

8. Es fragte Zarathushtra den Ahura Mazda: "Ahura u. s. w. gerechter, was[2] ist der schleichende Verderber"?

9. Darauf sprach Ahura Mazda: "Der falsche Glaube von einem Lehrer,[3] o Spitama Zarathushtra, der während eines Zeitraums von drei Lenzen die heilige Schnur nicht umlegt, nicht die Gâthâs aufsagt, nicht den guten Wassern opfert."

10. "Und wer mir diesem Mann, wenn er in Noth gerathen ist, wieder zum Wohlergehen verhilft, der thut kein bessres Werk, als wenn er ihm die Kopfhaut aufweitete.[4]"

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[1] "Die Brücke wird für den Gerechten so weit, als die Höhe von neun Speeren beträgt, und für den Bösen wird sie so schmal wie die Schneide eines Rasirmessers" Dâdistân-î-Dînîk 21, 5.

[2] *Kâ* nom. sg. fem., weil dem Fragenden bereits die Antwort—*agha daêna* in 9 vorschwebt.

[3] Auch hier ist die Grammatik ganz korrekt; P. V.: durch den Lehrer des falschen Glaubens; zu *disya* Lehrer, vgl. *daênô-disô daênayâi* Y. 57, 23. Mit *disyât* ist unmittelbar das folgende *yô* zu verbinden.

[4] D. h. er erweist ihm eine ebenso grosse Wohlthat, als wenn er ihm die Kopfhaut abzöge, wörtlich :—seinen Kopf zu einem machte, dessen Haut aufgeweitet wird. P. V. *pôst pahnâ kamâr kart*, was wörtlich in Ardâ Vîrâf 21, 2 als *kamâr pôst pâhnâî vâdûnd* wiederkehrt. West : the skin of whose head they widen out, that is, they flay his head. Schon Anquetil du Perron bezog Vend. 18, 10 sowie die ähnlichen Stellen Vend. 3, 20 und 9, 49 auf das Abziehen der Haut. Die sonderbare Wohlthat, die hier dem Irrlehrer er-

11. "Denn für einen einzigen bösen, unfrommen Irrlehrer ist der Gruss ein Kniestoss, für zwei die herausgestückte Zunge, für der gar keiner, vier verwunschen sich selbst.[1]"

12. "Wer einem einzigen bösen, unfrommen Irrlehrer von dem zubereiteten Haoma giebt, oder von den Weihbroten, die für ein Liebesmahl bestimmt sind, der thut kein besserer Werk, als wenn er eine Horde von tausend Reitern in der Mazdagläubigen Dörfer führter, die Männer tötete und das Vieh als Beute fortführte."

13. "Frage mich wiederum, o lauterer, mich den segensreichsten Schöpfer, den weisesten, der die Frage am besten beantwortet; so wird es dir besser ergehen, so wirst du gesegneter werden, wenn du mich wieder fragen wirst."

14. Es fragte Zarathushtra den Ahura Mazda: "Ahura Mazda segensreichster Geist, Schöpfer der irdischen Wesen, gerechter! Wer ist der Gerichtsbote des Sraosha, des dem Asha zugethanen, tapferen, der das verkörperte heilige Wort ist und dessen Waffe in Schrecken setzt, des dem Herren ergebnen?"

15. Darauf sprach Ahura Mazda: Der Vogel, der da Parôdarsh (Hahn) heisst, o Spitama Zarathushtra, den die übelredenden Menschen Kahrkatâs (Kikeriki) nennen. Und dieser Vogel erhebt seine Stimme um das zunehmende Frühroth:

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wiesen wird, sowie die grausame Procedur mit dem greisen Leichenträger in Vend. 3, 20 findet ihre Erklärung durch *Shâyast lâ Shâyast* 8, 6. Dort heisst es, dass wenn bei einem Todsünder der Hohepriester das Kopfabschneiden befiehlt, derselbe auf der Stellegerecht wird und von der Strafe der drei Nachte bewahrt bleibt. Ueber diese Strafe der drei Nächte sieh West zu Bund. 30, 16 und P. V. zu Vend. 7, 136 Sp. Es handelt sich um die drei Nächte unmittelbar nach dem Tod vor dem Beschreiten der Richterbrücke, von denen dass Avestafragment aus dem Hâdokht Nask handelt.

[1] *Zânu drâjâo* heisst wörtlich: 'wobei Verlängerung des Knies stattfindet' *hizu drâjâo* 'wobei Verlängerung der Zunge stattfindet'; vgl. Vend. 13, 48. Der Sinn ist: wenn man einem solchen Irrlehrer begegnet, so giebt man ihm statt des Segensgrusses einen Fusstritt, zweien streckt man mit mehr Vorsicht nur die Zunge heraus, bei dreien unterlässt man am besten jede Beleidigunge, und bei vieren ist das überhaupt nicht nöthig denn vier Irrlehrer sind niemals eintrüchtig, sondern beschimpfen sich gegenseitig.

16. "Stehet auf ihr Menschen, lobt das beste Asha, verwünscht die Devs! Jene Bûshyãsta mit den langen Pfoten kommt zu euch — sie ist es, die die ganze irdische Welt mit einem Mal, wann die Sterne erwachen (am Abend) einschläfert — (mit den Worten[1]:) "Schlafe lang, o Mensch, deine Zeit ist noch nicht um.[2]"

17. "Verschlafet[3] nicht die drei besten Dinge, gutgedachten Gedanken, gutgesprochenes Wort, gutgethanes Werk, verschlafet die drei schlimmsten Dinge, bösegedachten Gedanken, bösegesprochenes Wort, bösegethanes Werk!"

18. Und für das erste Drittel der Nacht bittet mein, des Ahura Mazda, Feuer den Hausherrn:

19. "Zu Hilfe[4]! stehe auf, o Hausherr! Ziehe deine Kleider an, wasche deine Hände, hole Brennholz, lege es für mich an und zünde mich an reinem Brennholz mit gewaschnen Händen an. Es deucht mir, als ob der von den Devs erschaffene Âzi meine Seele von dem Lebensfaden losreissen wolle.[5]"

20. Und für das zweite Drittel der Nacht bittet mein, des Ahura Mazda, Feuer den Viehbauern:

21. "Zu Hilfe, stehe auf, o Viehbauer! Ziehe deine kleider an, wasche deine Hände, hole Brennholz, lege es für mich an, und zünde

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[1] Diese Worte spricht die Bûshyãsta, die Dämonin der Schläfrigkeit, am Morgen.

[2] Ueber *sacaite* vgl. Kuhn's Zeitschrift 28, 301.

[3] Dies ist die Fortsetzung der Rede des Hahns, nicht der Bûshyãsta. Ueber *aiwithyô* nom-pl. von *aiwi-st* vgl. Kuhn's Zeitschrift 27, 230.

[4] Par. 22 zeigt deutlich, dass *avaiñhe* gegen die P. V. zu der Rede des Feuers zu ziehen ist.

[5] *pairithna* (von *pairi-tan*) ist das Band, das Leib und Seele verknüpft, der Lebensfaden. Vd. 19, 28 *pasca para-iristahe mashyehe pasca frasakhtahe mashyehe pasca pairithnem derenenti* 'nachdem der Mensch gestorben ist, nachdem der Mensch (die drei Nächte, während deren die Seele noch in unmittelbarer Nähe des Körpers weilen muss) ueberstanden hat, so schneiden sie alsdann den Lebensfaden ab.' Yasht 8, 54 *vîspahe añheush astvatô parôit pairithnem añhvãm ava hisidhyât* 'sie würde der ganzen bekörperten Welt die Seele vom Lebensfaden los schneiden'. *parôit* mit Acc. = los von, weg von.

mich an reinem Brennholz mit gewaschnen Händen an. Es deucht mir, als ob der von den Devs erschaffene Âzi meine Seele von dem Lebensfaden losreissen wolle."

22. Und für das dritte Drittel der Nacht bittet mein, des Ahura Mazda, Feuer den dem Asha ergebnen Sraosha: "Zu Hilfe (komme), o dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Dann legt für mich irgend Jemand in der bekörperten Welt reines Brennholz mit gewaschnen Händen an. Es deucht mir, als ob der von den Devs erschaffene Âzi meine Seele von dem Lebensfaden losreissen wolle."

23. Darauf weckt der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha den Vogel Namens Parôdarsh, o Spitama Zarathushtra, den die übelredenden Menschen Kahrkatâs benennen. Und dieser Vogel erhebt seine Stimme um das zunehmende Frühroth:

24. "Stehet auf, ihr Menschen, lobt das beste Asha, verwünschet die Devs! Jene Bûshyãsta mit den langen Pfoten kommt zu euch — sie ist es, die die ganze irdische Welt mit einem Mal, wann die Sterne erwachen, einschläfert — (mit den Worten): "Schlafe lang, o Mensch, deine Zeit ist noch nicht um."

25. "Verschlafet nicht die drei besten Dinge, gutgedachten Gedanken, gutgesprochenes Wort, gutgethanes Werk, verschlafet die drei schlimmsten Dinge, bösegedachten Gedanken, bösegesprochenes Wort, bösegethanes Werk!"

26. Dann wird, während sie auf dem Pfühl liegen, ein Freund von seinem Freund ermahnt[1]: Stehe du auf, er treibt mich heraus. Wer von uns beiden zuerst aufsteht, wird glücklich hinüber[2] ins Paradies gelangen. Wer von uns beiden zuerst dem Feuer des Ahura Mazda reines Brennholz mit gewaschenen Händen zubringt, dem wünschet zufrieden und freundlich das Feuer Wohlergehen:

27. "Möge dir eine Herde Vieh und eine Schar von Söhnen zu Teil werden, möge dir ein wohlthätiger Sinn und ein wohlthuendes Gewissen zu Teil werden, mögest du ein Leben mit frohem Gewissen

[1] *aoshete* = Skt. â-çyate. [2] über die Cinvat Brücke.

leben die Nächte (Tage), die du leben wirst!" Dies ist der Segenswunsch des Feues für den, der ihm Brennholz bringt, trocknes, von den Sternen beschienenes (d. h. abgelagertes) und aus dem Wunsch nach Rechtschaffenheit gereinigtes."

28. "Und wer mir diese Vögel, Spitama Zarathushtra,— ein Pärchen, Männchen und Weibchen—einem frommen Mann aus dem löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit schenkt, der darf glauben, er habe ein Haus geschenkt mit hundert Säulen, tausend Balken, zehntausend Vorhängen[1] und zehntausend Fenstern."

29. "Und wer mir Fleisch von der Körpergrösse dieses Vogels Parôdarsh schenkt,[2] den werde ich niemals ein zweites Wort fragen,[3] ich Ahura Mazda, (sondern sagen :) du darfst getrost weitergehen ins Paradies."

30. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er seine Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte. "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Du gebierst doch allein in der ganzen bekörperten Welt ohne Befruchtung?"

31. Darauf erwiederte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Durchaus nicht gebäre ich in der ganzen bekörperten Welt ohne Befruchtung. Ich habe jederzeit vier Männer.

32. "Die belegen mich ebenso, wie alle andern Männer ihren Samen in die Weiber legen."

33. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er seine Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Wer ist der erste von diesen deinen Männern"?

34. Darauf erwiederte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der erste dieser meiner Männer, wenn Jemand auch nur das geringste von seinen Bekleidungsgegenständen einem frommen Mann auf dessen Bitte nicht aus dem löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit schenkt.

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[1] *Mishta* stelle ich zu neupers. *misht* 'seidenes Gewand.'
[2] P. V. "Einige erklären, dass er Fleisch in dieser Grösse einem frommen Mann giebt."
[3] An der Richterbrücke.

35. "Der belegt mich ebenso, wie alle andern Männer ihren Samen in die Weiber legen."

36. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdemer die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Was ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen?"

37. Darauf antwortete ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Folgendes ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen. Wenn der Mann auch nur das geringste von seinen Bekleidungsgegenständen einem frommen Mann ohne dessen Bitte aus dem löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit schenkt.

38. "Der bringt mich ebenso um die Leibesfrucht, als ob ein vierbeiniger Wolf das Kind aus dem Mutterleib risse."

39. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Wer ist der zweite von diesen deinen Männern?"

40. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der zweite dieser meiner Männer, wenn Jemand über den Vorderfuss hinaus eine Vorderfusslänge weiter pisst.[1]

41. "Der belegt mich ebenso, wie alle anderen Männer ihren Samen in die Weiber legen."

42. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Was ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen?"

43. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Folgendes ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen. Wenn der Mann, sobald er aufsteht und drei Schritte (weitergeht), dreimal das Ashem betet, zweimal *humatanãm*, dreimal *hukhshathrótemái* und darauf vier Ahuna vairya hersagt und das *Yenhe hátãm* betet.

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[1] Man musste im Hocken genau zwischen die Fusspitzen pissen; vgl. *abráhmaṇo yam yas tiṣṭhan mútrayati*, *Mahábháshya* ed. Kielhorn I., 411, 22.—*paurva* ist nach P. V. Praeposition = vor.

44. "Der bringt mich ebenso um die Leibesfrucht, als ob ein vierbeiniger Wolf das Kind aus dem Mutterleib risse."

45. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Wer ist der dritte dieser deiner Männer?"

46. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der dritte dieser meiner Männer, wenn Jemand im Schlaf Samen vergiesst.

47. "Der belegt mich ebenso, wie alle anderen Männer ihren Samen in die Weiber legen."

48. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Was ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen?"

49. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Folgendes ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen. Wenn der Mann, sobald er vom Schlaf erwacht ist, dreimal das Ashem betet, zweimal *humatanãm*, dreimal *hukhshathrôtemâi*, und darauf vier Ahuna Vairya hersagt und das *Yeṅhe hâtãm* betet.

50. "Der bringt mich ebenso um die Leibesfrucht, als ob ein vierbeiniger Wolf das Kind aus dem Mutterleib risse."

51. Darauf fordert man die segensreiche Ârmaiti auf: "Segensreiche Ârmaiti: Diesen Mann übergebe ich dir, diesen Mann gieb mir heraus an der Segen bringenden Auferstehung, als einen, der die Gâthâs kennt, der den Yasna kennt, der die heilige Schrift studiert hat, als einen belehrten, geschickten, der das heilige Wort verkörpert.

52. "Und man soll ihm einen Namen geben: Âtredâta oder Âtrecithra oder Âtrezantu oder Âtredahyu oder irgend einen mit Âtre gebildeten."

53. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Wer ist der vierte von diesen deinen Männern?"

54. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Der ist fürwahr der vierte von diesen meinen Männern, wenn ein Mann nach dem fünfzehnten Jahr als liederliches Weibsbild geht: ohne heilige Schnur oder das heilige Hemd.[1]

55. "Nach dem vierten Schritt fahren wir Devs sogleich nachher allesammt[2] in seine Zunge und ins Fleisch. Solche sind dann im Stande die irdischen Geschöpfe des Asha zu verderben wie die Zauberei treibenden Ketzer die Geschöpfe des Asha verderben können."

56. Der dem Asha ergebene Sraosha fragte die Druj, nachdem er die Keule aus der Hand gelegt hatte: "Abscheuliche, unnütze Druj! Was ist das Mittel, es wegzubringen?"

57. Darauf erwiderte ihm die teuflische Druj: "Dem Asha ergebner, schöner Sraosha! Es gibt kein Mittel, es wegzubringen."

58. "Wenn ein Mann nach dem fünfzehnten Jahr als liederliches Weibsbild geht: ohne heilige Schnur und ohne das heilige Hemd.

59. "So fahren wir Devs nach dem vierten Schritt sogleich nachher allesammt in seine Zunge und ins Fleisch. Solche sind dann im Stande die irdischen Geschöpfe des Asha zu verderben, wie die Zauberei treibenden Ketzer die Geschöpfe des Asha verderben können."

60. "Frage mich wiederum, o lauterer, mich den segensreichsten Schöpfer, den weisesten, der die Frage am besten beantwortet; so wird es dir besser ergehen, so wirst du gesegneter werden, wenn du mich wieder fragen wirst."

61. Es fragte Zarathushtra u. s. w.: "Wer kränkt dich, den Ahura Mazda mit der grössten Kränkung, wer ärgert dich mit dem grössten Aerger?"

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[1] Das Gehen ohne das heilige Hemd oder ohne die heilige Schnur galt als ein Entblösst-Gehen, daher der Vergleich mit der *jahika*, vgl. West, Glossary unter *vashâd dâbârishnik* und Darmesteter's Note zu der Stelle. Obige Uebersetzung wahrt die Grammatik.

[2] *hakat*, ist Skt. *sâkam*.

62. Darauf sprach Ahura Mazda: "Das Scortum[1], welches den Samen von Heiligen und Unheiligen, von Devaanbetern und Nichtdevaanbetern, von Verdammten und Nichtverdammten zusammenkommen lässt, o frommer Zarathushtra.

63. "Ein Drittel der in Flüssen fliessenden frischen Wasser lässt es durch seinen Blick abstehen, o Zarathusthra. Einem Drittel der spriessenden schönen goldfarbigen Pflanzen raubt es ihr Wachsthum durch seinen Blick, o Zarathushtra.

64. "Einem Drittel der segensreichen Ârmati (Erde) raubt es die Decke durch seinen Blick, o Zarathushtra. Dem frommen Mann, der einen Ueberschuss[2] von guten Gedanken, guten Worten und guten Werken hat, raubt es ein Drittel von seiner Stärke und von seiner Wehrkraft und von seiner Rechtschaffenheit durch seine Begegnung, o Zarathushtra.

65. "Und ich sage dir, o Spitama Zarathushtra: diese sind tödlicher als die flinken Schlangen, oder als die schädlichen Wölfe oder als eine die Steppe bewohnende Wölfin, wenn sie in die Ansiedelung einbricht, oder als ein tausendlaichender Frosch, wenn er ins Wasser springt."

66. "Frage mich wiederum, o lauterer, mich den segensreichsten Schöpfer, den weisesten, der die Frage am besten beantwortet; so wird es dir besser ergehen, so wirst du gesegneter werden, wenn du mich wieder fragen wirst."

67. Es fragte Zarathushtra u. s. w.: "Wer einer Frau, die ihr blasses Aussehen und ihr Unwohlsein und Blutung hat, beiwohnt, (den Thatbestand) wissend, im Bewusstsein (der Sünde) und mit Ueberlegung (der schlimmen Folgen), während auch sie (den Thatbestand) weiss und (der Sünde) sich bewusst ist und (die schlimmen Folgen) bedenkt.

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[1] *Jahi* scheint hier wie lat. scortum sowohl das männliche wie das weibliche Individuum zu bezeichnen, daher *yô*!

[2] Nämlich über die bösen Gedanken u. s. w.

68. "Was ist dafür die Vermögensbusse, was ist dafür die Leibesstrafe, was für Leistungen soll er im Bewusstein seiner Schuld noch dagegen aufbringen?[1]"

69. Darauf sprach Ahura Mazda:—"Wer einer Frau, die ihr blasses Aussehen und ihr Unwohlsein und Blutung hat, beiwohnt (den Thatbestand) kennend, im Bewusstsein (der Sünde) und mit Ueberlegung (der schlimmen Folgen), während auch sie (den Thatbestand) kennt, und (der Sünde) sich bewusst ist und (die schlimmen Folgen) bedenkt,

70. "So soll er tausend Stück Kleinvieh schlachten und von allen diesen Thieren die Herzteile[2] mit Weihwasser dem Feuer im löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit darbringen, die Vorderfüsse soll er den guten Wassern darbringen.

71. "Tausend Traglasten hartes, trocknes, ausgesuchtes Brennholz soll er dem Feuer in dem löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit darbringen. Tausend Traglasten weiches Brennholz vom Sandelbaum, Benzoin, Aloe, oder Granatbaum[3] oder von irgend einem der wohlriechenden Bäume soll er demd Feuer im löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit darbringen.

72. "Tausend Büschel Barsom soll er binden, tausend Weihwasserspenden samt Haoma und Milch, geläutert und abgeseiht, von einem heiligen Mann (Dastur) geläutert und abgeseiht, mit einem Zusatz von dem Baum, der Granatbaum heisst, soll er den guten Wassern im löblichen Streben nach Rechtschaffenheit darbringen.

73. "Tausend Schlangen, die auf dem Bauch kriechen, soll er töten, zweitausend andere, tausend athmende (auf dem Land lebende) Frösche soll er töten, zweitausend Wasserfrosche, tausend Körner stehlende Ameisen soll er töten, zweitausend andere.

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[1] In Gestalt nützlicher Werke.

[2] Die Stelle haben Haug und Darmesteter klar gestellt. Die Bedeutung von *asmanivâo* ergiebt sich aus Shâyast lâ-Shâyast 11, 4.

[3] Nach Haug.

74. "Dreissig Stege soll er legen über einen Kanal, er soll tausend Geisselungen bekommen mit der Pferdepeitsche, zweitausend mit der Ruthe.

75. "Dies ist dafür die Vermögensbusse, dies ist dafür die Leibesstrafe, das soll er im Bewusstsein seiner Schuld noch an Leistungen dagegen aufbringen.

76. "Wenn er sie leistet, so wird er nach der Welt der Frommen abreisen, wenn er sie nicht leistet, so wird er nach der Welt der Gottlosen abreisen nach der aus Finsternis bestehenden, aus Finsternis entstandnen, finsteren."

K. F. GELDNER.

DAS VOLK DER KAMBOJA BEI YĀSKA.

Die merkwürdige Stelle in Yāska's Nirukta 2, 2, in welcher von den Kamboja die Rede ist, wurde, nachdem sie in R. Roth's Erläuterungen zum Nirukta, p. 17 f., (vgl. auch sein Buch *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda*, p. 67), die wünschenswerte Aufklärung nicht gefunden hatte, zuerst von A. Weber, *Akademische Vorlesungen ueber indische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 169[1]—194[2] im wesentlichen richtig gedeutet und kurze Zeit darauf von Max Müller, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 7, 373—377 unter *Heranziehung der Parallelstelle des Mahābhāshya* eingehender erörtert; auch ist Weber, nachdem er in den *Indischen Studien*, 4, 379, und in den *Indischen Streifen*, 2, 493, den Gegenstand flüchtig berührt hatte, nochmals in den *Indischen Studien*, 13, 363, auf die beiden Stellen zurückgekommen. Trotzdem bleibt an Yāska's Notiz noch einiges klar zu stellen, was daher im folgenden versucht werden soll.

Der Wortlaut ist mit Hinweglassung einer verunglückten Etymologie des Namens Kamboja folgender: *śavatir gatikarmā kambojeṣu eva bhāṣyate . . . vikāram asyāryeṣu bhāṣante śava iti, d. h.* in wörtlicher Uebersetzung: "*śavati* mit der Bedeutung 'gehen' wird bei den Kamboja gesprochen, dessen Ableitung *śavas* spricht man beiden Ārya." Yāska will damit, wie allgemein anerkannt wird, sagen, dass *śavati* beiden Kamboja als Verbum gebraucht wird, während die Ārya nur die Ableitung *śavas* kennen. Was ist aber unter *śavas* zu verstehen? Der Commentator des Mahābhāsya, Kaiyaṭa, bei Müller, p. 376, deutet es als Nominativ von *śava* "Leiche" in Uebereinstimmung mit der abweichenden Lesart seines Textes (*vikāra eva enam āryā bhāṣante*), indem er *vikāra* durch *jīvato mṛtāvasthā* erklärt, wozu man die Bemerkungen von O.A.Danielsson, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 37, 39 vergleichen mag; ähnlich der Commentator des Nirukta, Devarājayajvan, in Satyavrata Sāmaśrami's Ausgabe des Nirukta, Vol. 2, 161 f. Besser wird man mit Weber und Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, Vol. 1, 241 an das Neutrum *śavas* "Kraft" denken, dessen verbale Verwandte bei W. D. Whitney, *Die Wurzeln u. s. w. der Sanskrit Sprache*, p. 175 f. s. v. çū verzeichnet sind.

Die meisten Stellen, an welchen die Kamboja oder Kāmboja sonst in der Sanskrit Literatur vorkommen und welche man in O. Böhtlingk's und R. Roth's Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, 2, 79f. 229 übersichtlich beisammen findet, rühmen ihre Pferdezucht und die Rājataraṅgiṇi, 4, 165 f. setzt sie in die Nachbarschaft der Tukhāra (so die von M. A. Stein in den Text aufgenommene Lesart gegenüber dem Bukhāra anderer Handschriften und der älteren Ausgaben, welchen Chr. Lassen in der *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 2, 56 gefolgt it.) Danach sind sie also nordwestlich von Indien ansässig, was durch ihre häufige Verbindung mit den Yavana, d. h. den baktrischen Griechen (Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 2, 320 f., 3, 353 f., *Indian Antiquary*, 4, 244), durchaus bestätigt wird. Dazu kommen weitere Stellen in der Pali-Literatur und zwar erwähnen die in D. Andersen's Index to the Játaka, p.25, verzeichneten gleichfalls in erster Linie die Pferde und Maultiere der Kamboja, am wichtigsten aber sind die schon von F. Minayef, Grammaire paile traduite du russe par St. Guyard, p. XVII, Anm. 1 hervorgehobenen Verse (The Jataka ed. V. Fausböll, Vol. 6, 208):

kīṭā paṭaṅgā uragā ca bhekā hantvā kimiṃ sujjhati makkhikā ca |
ete hi dhammā anariyarūpā kambojakānaṃ vitathā bahunnaṃ ||

d. h. "Insekten, Schmetterlinge, Schlangen, Frösche, Würmer und Fliegen tötend wird man rein: solche verkehrte Vorschriften nicht arischer Art haben viele (oder die vielen) Kambojaka." Hier wird also das Töten schädlichen Gewürms als eine religiöse Pflicht der Kamboja bezeichnet; sie waren also zweifellos Anhänger der zoroastrischen Religion — wie denn schon Weber Iranier in ihnen vermutete—und werden wir ihre Wohnsitze irgendwo in dem durch seinen Pferdereichtum ausgezeichneten Osten Irans (W. Geiger, Ostfīrānishe Kultur im Altertum, p. 355) zu suchen haben. Damit löst sich das letzte Rätsel bei Yāska: sein Kamboja—Verbum ist nichts anderes als das avestische *śavaiti* oder *śavaite*, welches—durchaus ohne etymologischen Zusammenhang mit einem Skr. *śavati*—nur in der Aussprache mit ihm zusammenfällt.

ERNST KUHN.

A FRAGMENT OF THE DINKART.

Book III., Chap. IX. 3.

Three years ago I attempted in the *Festgruss*, published at Leyden in honour of my esteemed master, C. de Harlez, since deceased, a translation[1] of what is left of the earliest part of the Dinkart text, *viz.*, the second question of the third book, which, like the subsequent questions up to the eighth inclusive, are so worm-eaten in the unique original MS. as to be only partly legible, and consequently very difficult to make any sense of. My attempt was of course based upon the printed text as published by the late esteemed High-Priest, the regretted Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana. It seems appropriate, therefore, that the present very modest contribution to a memorial volume in honour of this laborious scholar, who has certainly merited well of all students of Pehlevi literature, by whom his name and memory will ever be held in the highest respect, should take the form of a similar attempt to unravel the meaning, as far as we can ascertain it from so broken a context, of the following question proposed by the heretic or apostate, who in the present case is quoted by his name, as will be noted below.

I have added but few notes to the transliteration and attempted translation. Several of the words which do not occur in the usual Pehlevi Vocabularies (West's, de Harlez's, Peshotan's, etc.) will easily be deduced from the verbal stems or uncompounded forms of which they are derivatives. I have not thought it necessary to trouble the printer by marking a circumflex over *o* and *e*, as, unlike the other vowels, it will be understood that (unless otherwise indicated by ĕ, ŏ) they are always written *plene* (Phl. ו and ڊ), whether long or short.

Of course, in so damaged a text it is impossible to obtain anything like a consecutive construction, except here and there; hence much of an attempt like this must be little better than guess-work, especially in dealing with a script and a construction so obscure as Pehlevi. I have tried to carefully keep the relative proportions of the *lacunæ* as indicated by Peshotan in his printed text.

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[1] *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*; Leide, Brill, 1896, pp. 41—43.

Sitîgar Pûrsîto Akvâni.

Pûrsît Akvân-i druj karîk[1] pavan gâsako[2] aharmoko aigha: . . . .[3] va-atâshâno hurvarâno bâlîsto-i girâno va zag-i zofar rûstak[4] . . . . zag-i Aûharmazd dîno dahishhîkân[5] mas gabrâ-i aharûbû-c . . . lâ zag mas zavâr-i min aharûbû akhû-i Aharûbû min gabrâân-i . . . . dîno kûtak va patash yashtâr-i Aûharmazd homanam barâ . . . . kûtak yĕkhsûnîto li pavan zag-i mas nikûhîto.*

Pâsukho: . . . . -ishnîk zak madam darvandîh frâz nimûtano zagash dîno . . . . amûkhtano va kûnishno-i Ganāk Minoi varjîto va-akhû-c Aharmanakîk . . . . yĕmlalûnît va stîh hûdâtân homand dahishnân-i Auharmazd . . . . ahûo pavan sar-

Third Question* of Akvân.

Akvân, the detestable (?) drûj in the shape of a heretic, asked thus:. . . . . and fires, trees, the loftiest of the mountains, and the deep mountain-gorge . . . . . . (of) these creatures of the religion of Aûharmazd the greatest is the just man, but . . . . . the just one is not stronger on account of his holy nature than men who . . . . . inferior religion. Consequently were I a worshipper of Aûharmazd (I) should . . . . considered inferior; in this I (should be) more despised.*

Answer: . . . . -ic to proclaim this in impiety and this his religion. . . . . . . to teach and the deeds of Ganâk Minôi worked and the Ahrimanic nature. . . said and the creatures of Aûharmazd are the material world of good creation . . . . nature in the supremacy over

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1 Cf. Arab. كريه 'detestable'. But probably for [Pahlavi], *kârîk*, 'warlike, hostile.

2 [Pahlavi], but more likely for [Pahlavi] *dahâno* ('mouth')—'by the mouth of a heretic'.

3 Evidently, from the latter part of the chapter, 'waters' ([Pahlavi] o [Pahlavi]) to supplied.

4 *al rûtak.* For meaning see Phl. Vend. V, 1. 'gorge between two mountains,' de Harlez.

5 Litt. plural of an adj. formed from *dahishno*, 'creation.'

* Litt. 'thirdly A. asked.' The subsequent chapters employ the substantial form pûrsishno.'

dârîh-i dâmân cîgûn martûm va afash tano-mâtâano[6] . . . . . aîyârîh-i anshûtâ cîgûn gospĕnd va rûbâno-mâtâano hûrûbâno . . . . va tano-mâtâano hûtano zîvarîh nîrûkîh avîrtar . . . . -shnîk val martûm rûbâno avîrtar pavan avoritano zagshâno . . . . val gospĕnd tano avîrtar pavanshân tano zîvarîh[7] . . . . . [? mâ] yenîtano rîmônîh cîgûn drûjîh mĕndavam va min drûjo . . . . mâhmântar[8] rîmônîh vêsh drûjo yîn martûm pavan kushashno . . . . [nî-] rûkîh-i rûbâno râî mâhmântar gâs pavan tano vakhdûnît . . . . drâyînâsh-i anshûtâ zîvandîk tano hûrâyishno . . . . . va vitarto tano homant rûbâno aharûbû zagac-i val rubâno pavan . . . . yĕkavîmûnâto lakhvâr val tano nĕflûnît va tano rîmôntar yehevûnît . . . . . rûbâno arĕkht afash val doshahû kashît . . . . tar yĕmlalûnem

living-creatures, as man; and hence (beings) of corporeal essence. . . . . the assistance of man, as cattle; and (beings) or spiritual essence (endowed with) good souls. . . . and (those) of corporeal essence with good bodies, adornment (?), strength superior. . . -ic for man the soul is superior in the producing of these things . . . . for cattle the body is superior for the adornment (?) of their body . . . . . . to measure the impurity as something diabolical . . and from the drûj . . . . . more permanent impurity, abundantly the drûj in man in the struggle . . . . . . power on account of the soul, occupies a more permanent place in the body. . . crying out that the good-development of man's living body . . . . . and the dead body when the just soul and what unto the soul in . . . . remains, falls back upon the body and the body becomes more polluted . . . poured (upon) the

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[6] *mâtâ* must be, I suppose, the same as *mâtak* (Darmesteter, *Études*, I. 70) and *mâto* (D. K., Vol. IV., 157, § 22, see my *Médecine Mazdéenne*, Louvain, 1886, p. 32, n. The meaning seems to be 'mother-nature,' essence: *tano-mâtâ* and *rûbâno-mâtâ* would be compounds.

[7] [Pahlavi] cf. Pers. زیور 'jewel, ornament'; but we might rather expect here and below [Pahlavi] 'strength,' as used in the original objection (*mas zavâr.*)

[8] The MS. MM. has here *vîrâshtto.*

va yîn gospĕndâno pavan kûsh-ashno sîjâkîh . . . . va-tano vazînarîh mînoî-râî gâs pavan yîn tano karto . . . . . . zinîk drûjo va-âzînîk vâto-c kamîni[9] va anshûtâ tano . . . . . i min mâhmâno drûjo patĕshîh hûshmorto val . . . . [aha] rûbâno va aharûbyâno[10] lak pavan bêshishno va-istârîh-i . . . . rîmono zavâr madam val mayâh va atâsh madam val bâlisto-i girâno madam val zak zofar-i rûstâk aharmokîhâ kartak aîto lâ dâto . . . . . aîto dûr min Aûharmazd dîno andarjo.

Zak-i gospĕndâno zavâr zak rîmonîh loîtîh . . . . dîno nîrûkîhâ vîrâyishîto zakac hucârak va bahâr-[13]i min paityârak homandîh patash afash. . . . . barâ kartârîh vad-kashîsh [11] cand stîh dâto shâyîto bandak gâs patĕshîh . . . . . pavan frâz bûrto-i val atâshâno avâno aharûbâno aharûbyân[12] va afzûn-i dâmân dânâ . . . . dastobarîh-i Aûharmazd dîno

soul and drags it to hell . . . . -er we utter. And in cattle through the struggle perishableness . . . . and the advancement (improvement) of the body on account of the spirit a place made in the body . . . . . the living drûj and the lifeless wind meanness (?) and man's body . . . . . from the in-dwelling drûj the attack is estimated unto . . . . just men and just women. Thou in the distressfulness and stagnation . . . . impure force upon water and fire, upon the loftiest of the mountains, upon the deep mountain-gorge, in heretical fashion hast made. (It is) not the law . . . . Far from the religion of Aûhurmazd is the doctrine.

The strength of cattle, this pollution, non-existence. . . . . religion in a powerful manner sets in order and this succour and advantage which is from the being opposed, there-

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9 *Cf.* Pers. کمین 'mean, base, despicable.' But there is also Arabic كمين 'ambush ; which would seem suitable here.

10 Unusual as this distinction of gender is, I cannot see any other likely explanation. The form seems modelled on the Avestic fem. *ashaoni*, pl. *ashaonîš* if *ashavan*.

11 Lit. 'portion, lot, share.'

12 Pers. کشش 'attraction, allurement.'

13 See above.

va hamdâtastânîh-ac-i amurakâno martum patash.

upon from it . . . . accomplishment unto attraction(?) inasmuchas the material creation must be a place of slavery, an attack. . . . . carried forward upon fires, waters, holy men, holy women, and the excellent know[ledge] of living-creatures. . . . . the priesthood of Aûharmazd, religion and the unanimous agreement of innumerable men upon it.

The name [Pahlavi] in the superscription of the chapter seems written 'Akvând'; but Akvân is a well-known name of a heretic or *dīv*, see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch,* s. v. 'Akwân' p. 12. The *dīv* Akwân was slain by Rustam (*Shahnameh* iii. 270). There was a Manichæan leader named Akwân, who had followers called Ἀκουανῖται. In DK., Vol. V, chap. 198, § 2, [Pahlavi] [Pahlavi] is read by Justi '*Krisiākīk Akwân*,' *i.e.,* 'the Christian Akwân' (contrary to Peshotan's interpretation, 'religious guide of the apostate ruler Karisâk'). Perhaps even the form [Pahlavi] in our text may be an abbreviation or an error for [Pahlavi] as above.

As far as I am able to make out, Akwân's objection would seem to be this: You say that the just man is the greatest (*mas*) of all Aûharmazd's creatures,—greater than the waters, trees, mountains, etc. (This claim, by the way, is implicitly made for man in general in a later chapter, ch. 81, § 3, where, after enumerating Auharmazd's creatures, 'âtash va mayâ va zamîk va hurvâr va gospĕnd . . . va anshûtâ,' praise is offered to the Creator 'mano ash *mas karto* min kolâ stîhdahishnâno *martûm*'—*i.e.,* made man greater than all material creatures.) But, says the heretic, the just man is no

stronger or more powerful (*mas zavâr*) than the followers of another religion. Were I to become a worshipper of Aûharmazd, therefore, I should not gain anything in esteem or otherwise.

The casuist in his reply seems to point out that man's superiority — literally, to use a very modern expression, quite familiar at the present moment, owing to recent political events, 'sirdarship' (*sardârih*) —over the rest of creation is due to his *soul* or the intellectual part of his nature, which enables him to assist and develop the non-spiritual creatures, such as domestic animals. He then goes on to explain how impurity in defilement is brought upon man by the drûj, especially as proceeding from the dead body, both as regards man and animals, and how it is thence transmitted to water, fire, trees, &c., — pretty much on the lines of the similar expostion in the fifth fargard of the Vendidâd.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

THE IRANIAN HINDÛKUSH DIALECTS CALLED MUNJÂNÎ AND YÛDGHÂ.

Although I know that many an Iranian scholar does not agree with me, I still believe that the fatherland of the Awesta and its civilisation is to be sought in the Eastern parts of Iran. If this is true, an exploration of the countries on the upper Oxus river and its tributaries will be of special importance. The inhabitants of those countries, the so-called Ghalchas, are no doubt a very interesting branch of the Iranian race, and the various dialects spoken by them deserve, I think, every Iranist's attention. I had myself the opportunity to study the Ghalcha dialects and to draw the outlines of their grammar from a scientific point of view.[1] We can say now that we are sufficiently acquainted with the Pamir dialects called *Wakhī*, *Shughnī* and *Saryq-qolī* as well as with the more isolated *Yaghnōbī*, and we had also a general idea of the *Yidghah* or rather *Yūdghā*, the only dialect of the Pamir group spoken south of the Hindûkush. But as to the dialects *Munjānī* (or *Mungī*) and *Sanglīchī*, which are closely connected with Yūdghā, all our knowledge consists of a very short list of words, and the *Ishqāshamī*, which seems to be related to the Wakhī, is only known by name. That want is now partly supplied by the excellent work of G. A. Grierson, 'Specimen Translations in the Languages of the North-Western Frontier', Linguistic Survey of India, Calcutta, 1899. We find here, on pp. 196-202, a short sketch of the Munjānī grammar, a translation of the parable of the prodigal son into Munjānī and a piece of folklore in the same dialect. The Yūdghā is treated in the same manner on pp. 205-214, and on pp. 219-221 we find a list of words and phrases in both dialects.

I shall confine myself chiefly to Munjānī to give some hints regarding the place of that dialect among the Pamir group of languages.

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[1] Grundriss der Iran. Philologie I, 2, pp. 288—344.

The result is, as we expected, that the difference between Munjānī and Yūdghā is only very slight, and that they must be taken as two branches of the same dialect.

As to phonology, the soft consonants, as in all Pamir dialects and in Pashto, are changed into aspirants, *e.g.*, M. *wuza* "goat"=Sh. *waz*, Aw. *būza*; M. *zhinka*, Yd. *zhinko* "woman"=Sh. *zhin*, Aw. *jaini*; M., Yd. *zhia* "to beat"=Aw. *jan*; M. *ghāva*, Yd. *ghāvo* "cow"=W. *ghū*. Instead of *dh* for original *d* we have *l* in both dialects, as also in Pashto: M. *lu* or *le*, Yd. *loh* "two"=Aw. *dva*; M. *leghda*, Yd. *loghda* "daughter"=Aw. *dughdar*, Pashto *tur*; M. *lera*, Yd. *turo* "far"=Aw. *dūra*, Pashto *lire*. A medial *ch* is also softened and turned into *zh*, as in M. *zhe* "from"=Yd. *zhe* (not *ze*!)=Aw. *hacha*, Pers. از The resemblance of the two dialects is also seen in changing initial *thr* into *sh* in M. *sherai*, Yd. *shurai* "three"=Aw. *thrāyō*, and in eliding the *th* of the medial group *thr*, as in M., Yd. *pūr* "son"=Aw. *puthra* and M. *yūr*, Yd. *yūr* "fire"=Aw. *āthr-*, Pashto *ōr*. Both dialects soften the group *ft* (Aw. *pt*) into *vd*: M. *avde*, Yd. *avdo* "seven"=Aw. *hapta*, Pers. هفت.

Te pronoun *1st* pers. sg. is M. *ze*, Yd. *zo*=Aw. *azem*, Pashto *za*, but in all the other Pamir dialects *waz* or *wūz*. The pron. 2nd pers. pl. is in M. and in Yd. *māf*, but in W. *saïsht* in Sh. *tamā*, in Sq. *tamash*, in Ygh. *shumāx*.

As to inflections it may be sufficient to give a paradigm of the declension of a noun and of the present and past of a verb, to show the close connection of the two dialects.

		Munjānī.	Yūdghā.
Sg.	Nom.	*tāt*, "father"	*tat*
	Gen.	*zhe-tāt-an*	*wa-tat* or *zhe-tat-n*
	Dat.	*ne-tāt-an*	*ne-tat-n*
	Abl.	*zhe-tāt*	*zhe-tat-n*
Pl.	Nom.	*tāte*	*tate*
	Gen.	*zhe-tāt-af*	*wa-tat* or *zhe-tat-ef*
	Dat.	*ne-tāt-af*	*no-tat-ef*
	Abl.	*zhe-tāt-af*	*zhe-tat-ef.*

For the explanation of the terminations *-an* and *-af*, *-ef-* compare *Grundriss* 1, 2, pp. 314 and 315, § 43, 1, 2. The plural termination is to be compared, as I suggest now, to the Pashto termination *-e*; it originally belonged to nouns of feminine gender (*e.g.* M. *leghde*, Yd. *loghde* "daughters"), but was afterwards transferred also to such of masculine gender.

I finally add the present and past tense of the verb "to beat."

	Munjānī.	Yūdghā.		Munjānī.	Yūdghā.
Sg. Pres.	1. *duhum*	*deham*	Sg. Pret.	1. *zhiem*	*zhīm*
	2. *dehi*	*dehe*		2. *zhiet*	*zhīt*
	3. *dehi*	*dehe*		3. *zhia*	*zhīo*
Pl. Pres.	1. *deham*	*deham*	Pl. Pret.	1. *zhiam*	*zhīem*
	2. *dehaf*	*dehaf*		2. *zhiaf*	*zhief*
	3. *dehat*	*dehat*		3. *zhiat*	*zhiet*

The passive construction of the past tense of transitive verbs ("the horse has been beaten by the man" for "the man beat the horse") is not so well preserved in Munjānī and Yūdghā as in other Pamir dialects (*cf.* Grdr. 1, 2, pp. 324 and 325, § 63), but the forms *zhiet*, *zhīt* and *zhiaf*, *zhief* can only be explained as compositions of the old past participle (Aw. *jata*), with the pronominal suffixes of the 2nd person: 'beaten by thee, by you'. And I quote, to show the construction, the following sentence:

Munjānī: *to hech-kella yu channā-men che-li-at.*

Yūdghā: *to hech-kelan yū chennā-men chi-līt.*

English: 'Thou, any time one kid to me not (was) given by thee' = 'You never gave me a kid.'

WILHELM GEIGER,
Erlangen.

SOME INSCRIPTIONS ON SÂSSÂNIAN GEMS.

The department of Sasanian gems is only a small one in ancient Persian art, nevertheless, it is highly interesting, and is by no means unimportant. That, for instance, Sasanian people had such long names as *Bápáturmitrbútbag* we should not know without the gems, and that here were such functionaries as an *Erán Anbárakpat* or a *Nasán-andémángárán sardár* (see below), could only be learned from them. I have had the opportunity of studying the engraved Pahlavi stones of all except one of the known public collections, *viz.*, those of the Royal Museum in Berlin, the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Imperial Museum at Vienna, the Royal Museums in Copenhagen and at the Hague, the Grandducal Library in Gotha (in this collection there is only one specimen, but that is a lion, the famous amethyst of Devonshire), and the Mayer Museum in Liverpool. The collection not accessible to me was the Imperial Hermitage in St. Petersburg. There seems to be reason for believing that this collection is a large one, but the little encouraging civility of the director Mr. Kieseritzki towards me, made me give up the intention of examining the publicly exhibited gems when I walked through the splendid room of coins in that palace. At Florence I was not able to find any trace of the former collection of the Tuscanian Granddukes, from which Dr. A. D. Mordtmann published some specimens.

Besides impressions of the Sasanian gems of all the above mentioned accessible collections, I owe casts in wax or plaster to the kindness of many private possessors. Since I published my two papers on the subject (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 44, pp. 650-678, see also Vol. 45, pp. 429-431, and *Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen der Königlichen Museen in Berlin*, Vol. IV.) in the years 1890 and 1891, numerous other casts have been sent to me. I shall select from them some of the most interesting as a modest contribution to this volume, dedicated to the memory of Dastur Peshotan Behramji Sanjânâ, the revered high-priest of the Parsees.

1. The British Museum in 1898 acquired the following seal—

Bust of a bearded man looking to the right; the gem is of large size and admirably worked out, copied in Lajard, *Le Culte de Mithre,* LXV., No. 137.

Sháhóé zí magú zí Khur(r)akán zi nasán-andémángárán sardár 'Sháhoé the Magian, the son of Khurra, the chief of the corpse-carriers.'

We learn from this gem, that the guild of the corpse-carriers had a Magian as their head, a fact that is not surprising, but until now the title of this functionary was not known. In the Pahlavi texts we have for 'dead body' only the form *nasái,* for which I have proposed to read *nasíh (Nom. abstract.)*; here we find for the first time the regular *nas* without an ending, that was to be expected. *Andémángár* occurs with the meaning 'receiving, carrying' (see my *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie,* No. 596). West translates, in his Shik. Gum.Viç., *andemán* 'domestically serving,' *andemání* 'household service.'

One sees that this gem is of high value for more than one reason.

2. Professor Maxwell Sommerville of the University of Pennsylvania possesses a number of Sasanian gems, of which he has kindly sent me impressions. It is unfortunate that the latter are not all decipherable without consulting the originals. Some bear the common inscription *Apastán 'al Yazdán* 'Confidence in God,' *viz.,* No. 1421S, a monogram in the centre, No. 523S, a lion attacking a zebu from the front. Of the others I notice—

A.—No. 1383S. This fine piece has already been published by me in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Vol. 44, p. 675, No. 140.

Shahpuhr-í rabá-é[1] 'Shahpuhr the Great, *viz.,* the nobleman,' a member of the second class of nobility in the Sasanian Empire.

[1] I read with Dr. F. C. Andreas this ending in Pahlavi as *é,* see *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie,* Vol. I., Part II., p. 109, § 49.

On an impression from the collection left by the late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann, I find another *rabá*, viz., *Barz-í rabá-é Apastán 'al Yazdán* 'Barz the nobleman. Confidence in God', (kneeling zebu with a human head).

B.—No. 511S. *Mitr Shahpuhré Apastán 'al Yazdán* 'Mitr Shahpuhr. Confidence in God'—a bird on a fire-altar not lighted.

C.—No. 1744B. *Tíré* 'Tír'; with a half circle at the beginning and end of the inscription. The inscription runs round a monogram.

C.—No. 1738B. This piece bears only an inscription and no image. The word nearest the centre is *barah* 'son,' followed by *Apastán 'al Yazdán*. Unfortunately the names of the possessor and his father are not legible.

3. For some years Professor N. Ogden Rood of Columbia University in New York has provided me regularly with beautiful electrotypes of the gems in his own possession and others which pass through him. These magnificent casts are the pride of my collections. Even two original Sasanian seals I owe to his extraordinary kindness (see A and B below). If I am right, King's collection was sold to America, and several of Prof. Rood's electro-types are taken from pieces once belonging to it.

A.—Recumbent lion.

Gushnaspándát or perhaps *Gushtaspándát* (the *shn* or *sht* is a little injured). The name means 'Given to the descendant of Gushnasp, *viz.*, to the Gushnaspanide.'

B.—Head of a man *en face*.

Apastán Wánd(á)t 'Confidence (in God) *Wándat*.' Might this not perhaps be: *Apastán 'a(l) Yazd(án)-d(á)t* as a name meaning 'Given for confidence in God'?

C.—Recumbent zebu.

Arwand Shahpuhr-í Néwánp(ā)t(ā)n shát(i)st(á)n 'Arwand Shahpuhr, the son of Nêwánpát. Joyfulness.'

Another(?) Arwand Shahpuhr was the owner of the seal in *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, Vol. 44, p. 660, No. 61.

D.—Recumbent fallow-deer.

Warahrán (N. propr.).

E.—Head of a zebu with wings.

M(i)trát.

The same contracted form, instead of Mitrdát, is to be found on a seal in Paris (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Mithradáta No. 52), and below (*H*); a later development of Mitrát is Milád, as J. Marquart has shown.

F.—Recumbent stag.

Bápúké.

A name formed from *Báp*, *Páp* with the suffix *-úk.*

G.—Recumbent wild goat.

Wéké zí Wakhshíkán 'Wék, the son of Wakhshik.'

Wék (or Wayak) may be derived from Aw. *vayu-* 'air,' Justi in his *Namenbuch* notes a Dihgán Wik. Wakhshik belongs to Wakhsh (see Justi).

H.—Head of a man.

M(i)tr(á)t.

See above under E. Prof. Rood writes me concerning this piece as follows. It is made of *lapis lazuli* and came recently from Bagdad. It has not at all the ordinary form, but is shaped as indicated in the two sketches (*which I cannot reproduce here*), and might pass for a grotesque attempt at a frog. It is in my collection, and is the only one of the kind I have ever seen.

I.—Fire-altar.

Áturshusrdost magú 'The Magian Aturshusrdost.'

I hope that this reading is correct. The *r* has, as sometimes the shortened shape of a *y* ; in *dost* we miss one hook of the letter *s*. *Áturshusr* would be in Awesta *Átarekhshudhra*, cf. *Atarecithra*.

K.—Head of a man.

P(*á*)*k*(*í*)*chd*(*á*)*t* (Nom. propr.). Some letters behind the head are illegible.

L.—Naked Greek goddess with a bunch of grapes in one hand.

Nútakí. Name of a woman(?)

Compare *Nútáturfarnbag* on a seal in the British Museum, *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, Vol. 44, p. 655, No. 25 ; of course also *Nartakí* might be read.

M.—Monogram.

Gabróé zí magú 'The Magian Mardoe.'

N.—Head of a bearded man looking to the right.

Mársand-í magú zí Dátshap(*í*)*rchuwá*(*n*). The inscription is distinctly engraved, but, as I suppose, with some faults. *Mársand, e.g.*, clearly stands for Máraspand, and instead of *zí* there is *wí* (Wídát would be impossible). Dátshapír is Persian Dátwéh, داد به.

O.—Wild goat and crab.

Néké ; with the same meaning as *shapír* (*Zeitft. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, Vol. 44, p. 669, No. 107.)

P.—Recumbent zebu.

Rásté 'right.'

The same inscription is to be found on some other stones, as well as the well-known *Apastán 'al Yazdán*.

4. Mr. D. Z. Noorian in New York possesses the following stones :—

A.—Bearded head looking to the right.

Bar Shabáté zí Bar Nabúd barah 'Bar Shabá, the son of Bar Nabúd.' The Syrian name Bar Shabá has the Pahlaví ending *é*.

B. Standing female holding up a child.

Ohrmazdé khwat(á)h-í farsandán 'Hormizd, the lord of children.'

This is a curious inscription. Firstly, because the common Pahlavi form for Mod. Pers. *khudái* is *khwatái*, modern *khudáh* occurs in Bukhárá and Tokharistán. Hormizd is again not especially the protector of chidren, the Frawashis, Mithra or Ardwisúra Anáhita, and others give children according to the Awesta. But I do not know how the curious words *khwat(á)h* and *farsandán* can be otherwise read and understood. Both seem to be dialectical (*farsand* instead of *farzand* as well as Arab. *sausanjird*, Mod. Pers. سوزن 'needle' and others). Or does *farsand* belong to the same stem as Mod. Pers. پسند ?

5. In the possession of Prof. Dr. M. Hartmann in Berlin.

Monogram.

M(i)tráturshámwáré zí Túrachán 'Mitráturshámwár, the son of Túrach'.

The name Shám is to be found on the gem in *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morg. Ges.*, Vol. 45, p. 430. With Túrach compare Mod.Pers. ایرج Eraj.

6. In 1894 in the possession of Mr. A.von Butkowski-Glinka in Paris.

Standing female with flowers in the hands.

Ómétdukht. Apastán 'al Yasdán 'Ométdukht. Confidence in God'.

One might also read Admétdukht or Émétdukht (see Justi *Namenbuch* p. 5 : Admét), the letter being written in cursive.

7. In the Lazarew Institute for Oriental languages in Moscou.

Standing goat.

Désh Warahrán (Nom. propr.).

8. In 1896 I received from Bagdad an impression with the inscription *Átur Ohrmazdé*, ' Atur Ohrmazd ' (bearded head). The same name is to be found on a similar stone in Berlin (No. 1017).

9. In the possession of Mr. C. M. Trelawny Irving in London.

Two figures, between them a tree.

Hamáwarté-í Zíkán, ' Hamáwart, the son of Zík '.

The name Hamáwart (Mod. Pers. هم آورد ' rival ') occurs also on a seal (bust of a bearded man) published by E. Thomas in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIII, p. 417, No. 10 (perhaps even so *Hamáwarté-í Zík*. . . . . . .). For Zík compare Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 385.

Of course forgeries have also been sent to me, *e.g.*, from Calcutta and from Sultánábád in Persia. Even some of the above-mentioned gentlemen have been deceived with forged stones. But I shall not make unhappy the owners by enumerating such fabrications. Generally they are easily detected with some practice.

I hope that this short communication may show that the Sasanian gems are worthy of being collected together in one *corpus*.

PAUL HORN.

THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS AT BEHISTAN.

PREFACE.

As the method of transcription in Kossowicz's edition of the Five Behistan Inscriptions dates from the year 1872, it seemed to me better to substitute for it a more modern one, which should take account of the advances which have been made since then. As the old Persian cuneiform signs form a very imperfect system of writing, there are numerous uncertainties as regards the real form and pronunciation of many words. This slight contribution is designed for the use of beginners, and consideration therefore could not be taken of subtleties. Therefore I have, if I may say so, transcribed roughly *kâra(h)*, *ima(h)* *(H)utâna(h)*, *aniyâ(h)uvâ*, *ba(n)daka(h)*, abara(n), *nâma(n)*, etc., *i.e.*, I have added the *h's* or *n's* that probably still existed in the language when these inscriptions were engraved upon the rocks of Mount Behistan. But I have written neither *Zûra(h)kara(h)*, *drauga(h)diš*, *Dâraya(h) va (h)us*, *mâtya(h)mâm*, etc., nor *martiyâ(h)*—nom. plur.—or *martiyâ(n)* —acc. plur.—, but only *Zûrakara(h)*, *draugadiš*, *Dârayava (h)us*, *mâtyamâm*, *martiyâ*, etc. Likewise the *a* at the end of words, which is often lengthened without etymological reason according to the principle of writing, has not been altered; or the reader will find transcribed with *ri*-vowel *vrkâna* (cp. aw. *Vehrkâna*, Modern Persian *Gurgân*), but not *Artavrdiya* (cp. aw. *verezya*). My transcription is only intended to give the student an idea of the problems involved in cuneiform writing, to decide definitely in every case which is right is still impossible; but I have inserted the alterations that seemed to be necessary.

For the glossary the latest publications on the subject, especially Weissbach and Bang's new edition of the text and the contributions scattered through various scientific journals, particularly those by Bartholomæ, Justi and Foy, have, of course, been consulted.

PAUL HORN.

INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS HYSTASPES.

COLUMN I.

1. Adam[1] Dârayava(h)uš[2] k̆šâyat̆iya(h)[3] vazraka(h)[4], k̆šâyat̆iya(h) k̆šâyat̆iyânâm, k̆šâyat̆iya(h) Pârsaiy[5], k̆šâyat̆iya(h) dahyunâm[6], Vištâspahyâ putra(h)[8], Aršâmahyâ[9] napâ[10], Hak̆âmanišiya(h)[11].

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[1] *adam* pron. 1st pers. 'I' (Aw *azem*); acc. *mâm* (Aw. *mãm*), *yathâ mâm kâma(h) âha(h)*, 'as my desire was,' enclit. *mâtyamâm* 'that me not;' gen. *manâ* (Aw. *mana*, Mod. Pers. *man*), enclit. *maiy* (Aw. *mê*), e.g. *A(h)uramazdâmaiy*, *utâmaiy*, *dahyâušmaiy*, also for the dative; ablat. enclit. *-ma(h)* in *hacâma(h)* 'from me' (Aw. *-mat*); plur. nom. *vayam* 'we' (Aw. *vaêm*); gen *amâkham* (Aw. *ahmâkem*, Mod. P. *mâ*.)

[2] *Dârayava(h)u-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)ush*, gen. *-a(h)aush* 'Darius'. Lindner's explanation of this name, published twenty-one years ago—'holding, possessing goods,' Aw. *Dârayatvohu*—has been recently confirmed by an Aramaic-Egyptian papyrus in the Strassburg Library, dated the 14th year of King Darius, where the word is distinctly with *h* written.

[3] *Khshâyathiya-*, sb. m., sg. nom *-a(h)*, gen. *-ahyâ*, plur. nom. acc. *-â*, gen. *-ânâm*; 'king,' Mod. P. *shâh*; *Khshâyathiyânâm Khshâyathiya(h)* 'the King of Kings,' Mod. P. *shâhanshâh*.

[4] *vazraka-*, adj. 'great,' Mod. P. *buzurg*; nom. sg. *-a(h)*.

[5] *Pârsa-*, m. (1) 'Persian' (adj.), 'a Persian' (subst.)—2. 'Persia.' sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, loc. *-aiy*; Med, P. *Pârsî* 'Pârsi-Zoroastrian' (the inhabitants of Persia also called themselves *Irânîyân* 'Aryans').

[6] *dahyu-*, sb. f. 'region, province, country,' Aw. *dahyu*, Mod. P. *dih* 'village' (Pahlv. *dêh*). Sg. nom. *-âush* (cp. Aw. *uzbâzâush*, Gâth. *hithâush*), acc. *-âum* (cf. Aw. *nasâum*), loc. *-auvâ*; pl. nom. acc. *-âva(h)*, gen. *-unâm*, loc. *-ushuvâ*.

[7] *Vishtâspa-* m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, gen. *-ahya*; name of King Darius' father (Aw. *Vishtâspa*, Mod. Pers. *Gushtâsp*).

[8] *putra-*, sb. m. 'son,' Aw. *puthra*, Mod. P. *pusar*; nom. sg. *-a(h)*

[9] *Arshâma-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, gen. *-ahyâ*; name of the grandfather of King Darius.

[10] *napât-*, sb. m., sg. nom. *-â* (Aw. *napâo*) 'grandson'; Mod. P. *navada*, etc.

[11] *Hakhâmanishiya-*, adj., sg. nom. *-ah*; pl. nom. *â*; 'the Achæmenidæ.'

2. Ṫâtiy[1] Dârayava(h)uš Ǩšâyaťiya(h): Manâ pitâ[2] Vištâspa(h) Vištâspahyâ pitâ Aršâma(h), Aršâmahyâ pitâ Ariyârâmna(h)[3], Ariyârâmnahyâ pitâ [Caišpiš,] Caišpâiš[4] pitâ Haǩâmaniš.

3. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš Ǩšâyaťiya(h): Avahyarâdiy[5] vayam Haǩâmanišiyâ ťahyâmahy, hacâ pruviyata(h)[6] âmâtâ(h)[7] amahy[8], hacâ pruviyata(h) hyâ amâǩam taumâ[9] ǩšâyaťiyâ âha(n).

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[1] *thah* verb 'to say, speak,' Aw. rt. *sañh*. Pres. conj. *thâhy* 'thou mayest say,' indic. *thâtiy* 'he says' (both being contracted from *thahâhy*,' *thahatiy*) ; imperf. *athaham* 'I said,' *athaha(h)* 'he said,' *athaha(n)* 'they said.' Passiv. pres. *thahyâmahy* 'we are called' (with active ending), aorist. *athahy* 'it was said' (or perhaps *athahya(h)* imperf. with active ending). Inf. *thastanaiy*.

[2] *pitar* sb. m. 'father,' Aw. *pitar*, Mod. P. *pidar*; nom. sg. *-â*.

[3] *Ariyârâmna-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, gen. *-ahyâ*; name of the great-grandfather of King Darius ('making happy the Aryans').

[4] *Caishpi-*, m., gen. sg. *-âish*, Teispes. (son of Achæmenes).

[5] *ava-*, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. *ava*, Mod. P. *ô*. Sing. acc. *avam*, gen. *avahyâ*, comp. *avahyarâdiy*; pl. nom. acc. *avaiy*, gen. *avaishâm*; neut. sing *ava*(h), (Aw. *avat*), *ava-parâ* 'by, past that' ('he went past that'); *râd-* in *avahyarâdiy* (loc. sg.) 'for this reason' (adverb); Mod.P. *-râ* (*barây*).

[6] *pruviyata(h)* adverb, with *hacâ* 'from early times,' from adj. *pruviya*, Aw. *pourvya* with suffix *-tah*, comp. Aw. *hvatô* 'by himself,'

[7] *âmâta-*, adj. 'proved, fit,' nom. pl *-â*; Aw. *âmâta*, Mod. P. *âmâda* (originally part. pret. from rt. *mâ* and *â*.

[8] 1. *ah* 'to be,' with genet. 'belong to' (*khshatram amâkham taumâyâ âha(h)* 'the kingdom was 'belonging to our family'). Pres. ind. *amiy* 'I am' (Aw. ahmi, Mod. P. *-am*) ; *ahy* 'thou art' (Aw. *ahi*) ; *astiy* 'he is' (Aw. *asti*, Mod. P. *ast*); *amahy* 'we are' (Aw. *mahi*) ; *ha(n)tiy* 'they are' (Aw. *henti*, Mod. P. *and*); conj. *ahatiy* 'he may be' (Aw. Gâth. *añhaitî*) ; imperf. indic. *âham* 'I was' (Skr. *âsam*) ; *âha(h)* 'he was'; *âha(n)* 'they were' Skr. *âsan*) ; middle *âha(n)tâ* 'they were.'

[9] *taumâ-*, sb. f. perhaps *tau(h)mâ*, Aw. *taokhman*, Mod. P. *tukhm*; 'race, family,' nom. sg. *-â*: *yâvâ taumâ ahatiy* 'as long as race (*i.e.* mankind) is (*i.e.*, exists),' *utâtaiy t. mâ biyâ(h)* 'thou mayest not have posterity'; gen. *-âyâ* (Aw. *-ayâo*, Skr. *-âyâ*); VIII. *manâ t.* 'the eighth of my family,' *Ka(n)bujiya(h) amâkham t.* 'K. of our family,' *khshatram amâkham t. âha(h)* 'the kingdom belonged to our family,' *amâkham t. kashciy* 'any one of our f.,' *Khshathrita(h)* (*H*)*uvakhshatrahyâ t.* 'Kh. of H's f.'; abl. *-âyâ(h)* (Aw. *-ayât*) : *khshatram tya(h) hacâ amâkham taumâyâ(h) parâbrtam âha(h)* 'the kingdom that was taken away from our family.'

4. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś k̇śâyaṫiya(h): VIII manâ taumâyâ tyaiy[1] paruvam[2] k̇śâyaṫiyâ âha(n), adam navama(h) IX duvitâtranam[3] vayam k̇śâyaṫiyâ amahy.

5. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś k̇śâyaṫiya(h): Vaśnâ[4] A(h)uramazdâha(h) adam k̇śyaṫiya(h) amiy. A(h)uramazdâ k̇śatram[5] manâ frâbara(h).[6]

6. Ṫâtiy Darayava(h)uś k̇śâyaṫiya(h): Imâ[7] dahyâva(h) tyâ manâ

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[1] *tya-*, relat. pron. 'who' (m., f.) 'what,' Skr. *tya-*, (nom. sg. *sya*), but Aw. only *ya-*; also as article *e.g.* *Gaumâta(h) hya(h) magush*, *Gaumâtam tyam magum* 'G., the Magian.' Masc. sg. nom. *hya(h)*, acc. *tyam*, plur. nom. *tyaiy*, acc. *tyaiy-patiy*, gen. *tyaishâm*; fem. sg. nom. *hyâ*, acc. *tyâm*, pl. nom. acc. *tyâ*; neutr. sg. nom. acc. *tya(h)*, pl. acc. *tyâ*, *tyâtish*, but also *tyâ-nâ* (*manâ dâtâ*) 'whatever my laws (were)' with shortened *â* as in *avadashim*, etc.

[2] *paruvam* adverb 'before,' *paruvamciy*; Aw. *pourva*.

[3] *duvitâtrnam* adv. 'of old,' cp. Lat, *diuturnus* (W. Foy).

[4] *vashna-*, sb. m. 'wish, grace'; instr, sg. -â 'by the grace (of Ahuramazdâ)'; Aw. *vasna*.

[5] *khshtra-*, sb. n. nom. acc. sg. 'rule, kingdom'; Aw. *khshathra*, Mod. P. *shahr* 'country' (older), 'city.' *khshatrapâvan-*, sb. m., nom. sg. *-â* 'satrap'; from *khshatra* and rt. *pâ* 'protect.'

[6] *bar* verb 'bear, carry,' Aw. rt. *bar*, Mod. P. *baram*; imperf. act. *abaram avam (h)ubrtam* 'I bore him well-supported,' *abara(h) upastâm* 'he bore aid,' middle *abara(n)tâ manâ bâjim* 'they bore tribute to me';

with *patiy* and *â*, 'bring back,' imperf. *patiyâbaram* 'I brought back';

with *parâ* 'bear away'; *âpishim parâbara(h)* 'the water bore it away,' *yathâ Gaumâta(h) vitham tyâm amâkham naiy parâbara(h)*, 'when G. had not yet borne away (*i.e.*, put aside) our family'; part pret. *parâbrta-*: *khshatram tya(h) hacâ amâkham taumâyâ parâbrtam âha(h)* 'the kingdom that had been borne away from our race,' *tya(h) parâbrtam* 'that which had been borne away';

with *fra* 'deliver, hand over,' imperf. *frâbara(h) manâ khshatram* 'he handed over to me the kingdom.'

[7] *ima-*, demonstr. pron. 'this,' Aw. *ima*, Mod. P. *im-shab*, *im-rôz*. sing. acc. m. *imam* (Aw. *imem*), f. *imâm* (Aw. *imam*); plur. nom. acc. m. *imaiy* (Aw. *imê*), f. *imâ* (Aw. *imâo*); neutr. nom. sg. *ima(h)*, (Aw. *imat*), acc. plur. *imâ*.

patiyâiśa(n)[1], vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) adamśâm[2] kśâyaθiya(h) âham : Pârsah, (H)uvja(h)[3], Bâbiruś[4], Aθurâ[5], Arabâya(h)[6], Mudrâya(h)[7], tyâiy drayahyâ, Sparda(h)[8], Yaunâ[9], Mâda(h)[10], Armina(h)[11], Katpatuka(h)[12], Parθava(h)[13], Zara(n)ka(h)[14],

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[1] *i* verb 'go,' Aw. rt. *i*, Mod. P. *ây-am* (with prefix *â*). Pres. indic. *aitiy* 'he goes' (Aw. *aêiti*) sigmatic aorist *âish* 'he went' *âisha(n)* 'they went';

with *atiy* 'pass by, go past,' *atiy-âish* 'he passed by';

with *apariy* 'go behind, follow,' 3rd plur. imperf. *apariy-âya(n)* : *ima dahyâva(h) tyanâ manâ dâtâ ap-* 'these countries followed my laws,' *i.e.*, 'they submitted to my laws' (Bartholomæ reads *a(h)apariyâya(n)* 'they respected' and compares Skr. *saparyâti*), perhaps *upariyâya(n)* should be read;

with *upariy*, *upariy abashtâm upariy-âyam* 'I went upon the law,' *i.e.*, 'I acted according to the law';

with *niy*, *niy-âyam* (corrected from *nijâyam*) 'I went away, marched off';

with *patiy*, *patiy-âisha(n) manâ* 'they came to me,' *i.e.*, 'they became subject to me';

with *para*, imperf. *parâya(h)* 'he marched away'; imperative *para-idiy* 'go, march out' (Aw. *idhi*), plur *para-itâ*; part. pret. *para-ita-*, nom plur. *-â*.

[2] *-sha* enclitic pronoun 'he, it' (Aw. the same, Mod. P. *-ash*); sg. gen. dat. *-shaiy* (Aw. *-shê*) in *adam-shaiy*, *avathâ-shaiy*, *utâ-shaiy*, *tyai-shaiy*, *pasâva-shaiy*; ablat. *-sha(h)* in *hacâ avada-sha(h)* 'from there, away from it' (pleonastically); plur. gen. *shâm* in *adam-shâm*, *avathâ-shâm*, *avam-shâm*, *utâ-shâm*, *tya-shâm*, *yathâ-shâm*, *hya-shâm*.

[3] *(H)uvja-*, m. 'Susiana,' Mod. P. *Chûzistân*; sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, loc. *-aiy*.

[4] *Bâbiru-*, sg. nom. *-ush*, acc. *-um* gen. (abl.) *-aush*, loc. *-auv*; 'Babylon.'

[5] *Athurâ-*, f., sg. nom. *-â*, loc. *-âyâ*; 'Assyria.'

[6] *Arabâya-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Arabia.'

[7] *Mudrâya-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, 'Egypt' (Hebr. Miçrayim).

[8] *Sparda-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Lydia' (cp. Sardes, the capital of Lydia).

[9] *Yauna-*, m. 'the Ionian'; plur. nom. *-â*.

[10] *Mâda-*, m; Mod. P. *Mâh* (1) adj. 'Median'; (2) subst. 'the Median'; (3) 'Media'; sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. -am, loc. *-aiy*, pl. instr. *-aibish*, loc. *aishuvâ*.

[11] *Armina-*, m., sg. nom., *-a(h)*, acc, -am, loc. *-aiy*, 'Armenia.'

[12] *Katpatuka-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Cappadocia.'

[13] *Parthava-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Parthia'; Mod. P. *pahlav* 'hero' (originally 'Parthian').

[14] *Zara(n)ka-*, or *Zra(n)ka-*, m. sg. nom. *-a(h)*; 'Drangiana.'

Haraiva(h)[1], (H)uvârazmiya(h)[2],Bâkhtris[3],Suguda(h)[4],Ga(n)dâra(h)[5],Saka(h)[6], Thâtagus[7], Hara(h)uvatis[8], Maka(h)[9]; fraharvam[10] dahyâva(h) XXIII.

7. Thâtiy Dârayava(h)us kshâyathiya(h) : Imâ dahyâva(h), tyâ manâ patiyâisa(n) vasnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) manâ bad(n)akâ[11] âha(n)tâ, manâ bajim[12] abara(n)tâ tyasâm, hacâma(h) athahy kshapavâ[13] raucapativâ[14] ava[15] akunavaya(n)tâ.[16]

[1] *Haraiva-*, m., sg. *-a(h)*, 'Herât' (Mod. P. *Harê*).

[2] *Huvârazmiya-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, 'Chorasmia;' Aw. *Hvâirizâo*, Mod. P. *Khvârazam*.

[3] *Bâkhtrî-*, f., sg. nom. *-ish*, loc. *-iyâ* 'Bactria'; Aw. *Bâkhdhi*, Mod. P. *Balkh*.

[4] *Suguda-*, m., sg. *-a(h)* 'Sogdiana'; Aw. *Sughdha*, Mod. P. *Soghd*.

[5] *Ga(n)dâra-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*. Name of a country near the Indus, Greek *Gandarîtis* or *Gandarikê*.

[6] *Saka-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*; 'Scythia'; Mod. P. *Sagistân*.

[7] *Thatagu-*, m., nom. sg. *-ush* 'Sattagydia.'

[8] *Hara(h)uvati-*, f., nom. sg. *-ish*, acc. *-im*, loc. *-iyâ*, 'Arachosia;' Aw. *Harahvaiti*.

[9] *Maka-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*; the country of Makrân.

[10] *fraharvam*, adverb 'altogether'; cp. *haruva* 'all.' Aw. *haurva*.

[11] *ba(n)daka-*, sb. m. 'servant,' Mod. P. *bandah*; sg. nom. *-a(h)*, pl. nom. *-â* (or fem. adj. 'they were subject to me').

[12] *bâji-*, sb. f., acc. sg. *-im*, 'tribute,' Mod. Pers. *bâz*.

[13] *khshap-*, sb. f., acc. pl. *khshapavâ raucapativâ* 'during nights or days;' Aw. *khshap* or *khshapan*; Mod. P. *shab*.

[14] *raucah-*, sb. n. 'day,' Aw. *raocah-* 'light,' Mod. P. *rôs* 'day'; sg. nom. *rauca(h)*, plur. acc. *rauca-pativâ* 'or during days' (instead of *raucâpativâ* as *avadashim*, *tyanâ* with shortened *a*), instr. *-abish*.

[15] *ava-*, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. *ava-*, Mod. P. *ô*; sing. acc. *avam*, gen. *avahyâ*, comp. *avahyarâdiy*; plur. nom. acc. *avaiy*, gen. *avaishâm*; neutr. sg. acc. *ava(h)*, (Aw. *avat*), *avaparâ* 'by, past that,' ('he went past that').

[16] *kar*, verb 'make' (Aw. rt. *kar*, Mod. P. *kardan*), pres. conj. *kunavâhy*, 'whatever thou mayest do' (Aw. *kerenavâhi*); imperat. *kunautuv* (Skr. *kṛṇôtu*) 'he shall do'; imperf. act. *akunavam* 'I made,' *akunaush* 'he made' (with *sh* from the sigmatic aorist), *akunava(n)* 'they made' (Aw. *kerenâun*), middle *akunavatâ avam mathishtam* 'they made him chief,' *akunavaya(n)tâ* (causative), 'they did'; aorist act. *akumâ* 'we made,' middle *akutâ (h)uvâi-pashiyam* 'he made self-government' (Skr. *ákṛta*); part. pret. *kṛta-* 'made, done' (Aw. *kereta*), neutr. sg. *-am*; inf. *cartanaiy* (with *c* instead of *k*, as Aw. *cahyâ* 'whose?' near *kahyâ*); perf. optat. *cakhriyâ(h)*; *kashciy hya(h) avam khshatram ditam cakhriyâ(h)* 'somebody who would have made him deprived of the kingdom'; with *â*, imperat. pass. *âkariya(n)tâm uzmayâpatiy* 'they shall be empaled' (Skr. *kriyántâm*); with *pariy* 'guard' (Skr. 'adorn, prepare'), pres. conj. (1st class) *parikarâhy* or *parikarâh(i)dish* 'thou mayest guard them,' *parikarâ* the same (cp. Aw. *barâhi* and *payâo*).

8. Tâtiy Dârayav(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): A(n)tar[1] imâ dahyâva(h) martiya(h)[2] hya(h) dauštâ[3] âha(h) avam (h)ubrtam abaram, hya(h) araika(h)[4] âha(h) avam (h)ufrastam[5] aprsam. Vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) imâ dahyâva(h) tyanâ manâ dâtâ[6] apariyâya(n); yaťâšâm[7] hacâma(h) aťahy, avaťâ[8] akunavaya(n)tâ.

9. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): A(h)uramazdâ manâ ǩšatram frâbara(h), A(h)uramzdâmaiy upastâm[9] abara(h), yâtâ[10] ima(h) ǩšatram adâry.[11] Vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) ima(h) ǩšatram dârayâmiy.

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[1] *a(n)tar* prepos. with accus. 'within,' Aw. *antare*, Mod. P. *andar*: *a(n)tar imâ dahyâva(h)* 'within these countries,' *a(n)tar didâm* 'within the fortress,' *a(n)tar imâ hamaranâ* 'within these battles.'

[2] *martiya-*, sb. m. 'man,' Mod. P. *mard*; sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, plur. nom. acc. *-â*, instr. *-aibish.*

[3] *daushtar*, sb. m. 'friend,' Mod. P. *dôstâr*; sg. nom. *-â*; *A(h)uramazdâ tuvâm d. biyâ(h)* 'A. may be friend to thee,' *avaiy mâ d.* (sc. *biyâ*) 'to him be not a friend.' Aw. *zaoshatar.*

[4] *araika-*, adj., sg. nom. m. *-a(h)* 'hostile;' Aw. *araêka* (epithet of the ant, not clear), Mod. P. *rêgh* 'hate,' 'enmity.' Also *arika* may be read Skr. *ari* 'enemy.'

[5] *pars* verb, Aw. rt. *peres*, Mod. P. *pursidan*, 'inquire,' *i.e.* 'punish,' imperf. *aprsam avam (h)ufrastam* 'I punished him severely,' conj. pres. *prsâ* 'thou mayest punish,' *avaiy ahifrashtâdiy prsâ* 'punish them with capital punishment.'

with *patiy* 'read (an inscription),' conj. pres. *pati prsâhy* 'thou mayest read,' *patiprsâtiy* 'he may read.'

[6] *dâta-*, sb. n. 'law,' Aw. *dâta*, Mod. P. *dâd*; plur. nom. *-â.*

[7] *yathâ*, Aw. *yatha* (1) adverb 'as,' *yathâ—avathâ* 'as—so.' (2) conj. (*a*) 'when' with indic. preter.; (*b*) 'because,' *yathâ naiy araika(h) âham* 'because I was not hostile.'

[8] *avathâ* adverb 'thus'; Aw. *avatha.*

[9] *upastâ-*, sb. f. sg. acc. *-âm* 'help'; Aw. *upastâ.*

[10] *yâtâ* conj. (1) 'when, while, with indic. preter. *yâtâ avâjanam* 'when I killed.' *yâtâ adam Bâbirauv âham* 'while I was in Babylon.' (2) 'until' with indic. preter., *yâtâ ima(h) khshatram adâry* 'until this kingdom was held,' *yâtâ adam arasam* 'until I arrived,' *yâtâ avâstâyam* 'until I put in its place.' *citâ—yâtâ* 'as long—until.'

[11] *dar* verb 'hold,' Aw. rt. *dar*, Mod. P. *dâram, dâshtan*; (1) 'hold, possess,' *ima(h) khshatram dârayâmiy* 'I hold this kingdom,' *kâra(h) Tigrâm adâraya(h)* 'the army held the Tigris,' *avadâ adâraya(h)* 'there he held,' (*i.e.*, he held that city as the king's officer); aor. pass. *basta(h) adâriy* 'he was held bound,' *yâtâ ima(h) khshatram adâry* 'until this kingdom was held (*i.e.*, occupied).' (2) 'stand ground,' *adakaiy naiy adâraya(h)* 'at that time he did not stand his ground.'

10. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś ǩśâyaťiya(h) : Ima(h) tya(h) manâ krtam, pasâva(h) yaťâ ǩśâyaťiya(h) abavam.[1] Ka(n)bujiya(h)[2] nâma(n)[3] Kûrauś[4] putra(h), amâǩam taumâyâ, hauv paruvam idâ[5] ǩśâyaťiya(h) âha(h); avahyâ Ka(n)bujiyahyâ brâtâ[6] Bardiya(h)[7] nâma(n) âha(h). hamâtâ[8] hamapitâ[9] Ka(n)bujiyahyâ, pasâva(h) Ka(n)bujiya(h) avam Bardiyam avâja(n).[10] Yaťâ Ka(n)bujiya(h) Bardiyam avâja(n), kârahyâ[11] naiy azdâ[12] abava(h) tya(h) Bardiya(h) avajata(h). Pasâva(h) Ka(n)bujiya(h) Mudrâyam[13] aśiyava(h).[14] Yaťâ Ka(n)bujiya(h) Mudrâyam aśiyava(h),

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[1] *bû* verb 'be, become,' Aw. rt. *bû*, Mod. P. *bûdan*; imperf. *abavam khshâyathiya(h)* 'I became king,' *abava(h)* 'he was, became,' *abava(n)* 'they were, became'; pres. optat. *biyâ(h)* 'may he be.'

[2] *Ka(n)bujiya-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, abl. *-â(h)*, gen. *-ahyâ*, 'Cambyses.'

[3] *nâman-*, sb. n., 'name,' Aw. *nâman*, Mod. P. *nâm*. The two forms we meet with are *nâma* and *nâmâ*, which occur only after proper names in the meaning 'N. N. by name,' *nâma* with masc. and neutr., *nâmâ* with feminines. *Nâma* probably is the acc. *nâma(n)*. *Nâmâ* with feminines may be an old Persian new formation on the model of the frequently occurring *â*- stems.

[4] *Kûru-*, m., gen. sg. *-aush* 'Cyrus.' The length of the first *u* is proved by the Greek *Kyros*.

[5] *idâ* adverb 'here'; Aw. *idha*.

[6] *Brâtar*, sb. m. 'brother'; sg. nom. *â*; Aw. *brâtar*, Mod. P. *birâdar*.

[7] *Bardiya-* (perhaps *Brdiya-*), m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am* 'Smerdis'; cp. Aw. *barezah* 'height,' Mod. P. *bâlâ*.

[8] *hamâtar-*, adj., sg. nom. *-â* 'having the same mother' (instead of *hamamâtâ*).

[9] *hamapitar-*, adj., sg. nom. *-â* 'having the same father' (Aw. *hama* 'the same').

[10] *jan* verb. 'smite, put to flight,' Aw. *jan*, Mod. P. *zanam*, *zadan*. — Pres. imperat. *jadiy* 'smite' (Aw. *jaidhi*), plur. *jatâ* 'smite'; imperf. *ajanam* 'I smote'; *aja(n)* 'he smote'; with *ava* 'kill' (also Aw. and Pahlv.) impef. *avâjanam* 'I killed,' *avâja(n)* 'he killed,' *avâjana(n)* 'they killed'; part. pret. *ava-jata-*: *tyah Bardiya(h) avajata(h)* 'that B. (was) killed.'

[11] *ǩâra-*, sb. m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, instr. *-â*, gen. *-ahyâ*. 1 'army,' 2 'people,' comp. Mod. P. *ǩâri* 'warrior,' *ǩâr-zâr* 'battle, field of battle.'

naiy adverb 'not'; Aw. *nôit*, Mod. Pers. *nah* or *nai*.

[12] *azdâ-*, sb. f., sg. nom. *-â* 'knowledge,' *kârahyâ naiy azdâ abava(h)*, 'the army had no knowledge'; Aw. *azdâ*, Pahlv. *azd*.

[13] *Mudrâya-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, 'Egypt' (Hebr. Miçrayim).

[14] *shiyu-*, verb 'go,' set out,' Aw. rt. *shu*, *shavaitê* 'go,' Mod.P. *shudan*, *shavam* 'go, be'; imperf. *ashiyavam* 'I went, marched,' *ashiyava(h)* 'he went, marched,' *ashiyava(n)* 'they went, marched.'

pasâva(h) kâra(h) araika(h) abava(h), pasâva(h) drauga(h)[1] dahyauvâ vasiy[2] abava(h), utâ Pârsaiy utâ Mâdaiy utâ aniyâ(h)uvâ[3] dahyušuvâ.

11. Ṫâĉiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaĉiya(h): Pasâva(h) I martiya(h) Maguš[4] âha(h) Gaumâta(h)[5] nâma(n). Hauv udapatatâ[6] hacâ Paišiyâ(h)uvâdâyâ,[7] Arakadriš[8] nâma(n) kaufa(h)[9] hacâ avadaša(h),[10] Viyaǩnahya[11] mâhyâ XIV raucabiš ĉakatâ[12] âha(h) yadiy[13] udapatatâ. Hauv kârahyâ avaĉâ

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[1] *drauga-*, sb. m., 'lie,' Aw. *draogha*, Mod. P. *durôgh*; sg. nom. *-a(h)*, abl. *-â(h)*.

[2] *vasiy* adverb 'much,' originally 'according to wish,' Mod. P. *bas*.

[3] *aniya-* pron. 'another' (not 'enemy'), Aw. *anya*; *aniya — aniya* 'the one — the other.' Sing. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, gen. *-ahyâ*, neutr. *aniyash-ciy*; plur. nom. acc. m. f. *-â*, loc. f. *-â(h)uvâ*.

[4] *Magu-*, sb. m. 'the Magian'; sg. nom. *-ush*, acc. *-um*; Mod. P. '*Mugh, Môbad*' (Pahlv. *Magôpat*).

[5] *Gaumâta-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*; name of the false Smerdis ('cow-expert').

[6] *pat*, verb 'to fall,' Aw. *pat*, Mod. P. *u-ft-âdan*; middle with *ud* 'revolt,' imperf. *ud-apatatâ* 'he revolted;' *ud* verbal prefix 'out' (Skr. *ud*) with *pat*.

[7] *Paishiyâ(h)uvâdâ-*, f., sg. acc. *-âm*, gen. *-âyâ*: name of a city or region.

[8] *Arkadri-*, sg. nom. *-ish*: name of a mountain.

[9] *kaufa-*, sb. m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'mountain'; Aw. *kaofa*, Mod. P. *kôh*.

[10] *avadâ*, adverb (Aw. *avadha*) 'there' (never 'thither'); before a following enclitic pronoun the *â* is shortened, *e.g. avadashim, avadashish, hacâ avadasha(h)* 'from there' (see *sha-*).

[11] *Viyakhna-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahya*. Name of a Persian month, (according to Justi 'without ice,' Mod. P. *yakh*).

[12] *thakatâ*, a much discussed word. It occurs always in the following construction: Name of a month in genitive, *e.g., Viyakhnahya mâhyâ x* (a numeral) *raucabish thakatâ âha(h) yadiy* or *avathâ*, etc. The meaning evidently is 'it was on such and such a day of such a month, when'; but the construction is less clear. Literally we may translate 'with x days of the month y, in the course (of time or the month) it was, when.' Then *thakatâ* would be the loc. sg. of a subst. f. *thakati-* 'the course' (cp. Aw. rt. *sac* 'to pass'), and *raucabish* the instrumental of duration of time. If the first day of a month is meant, we find in the text *rauca(h)* 'one day was in the course.'

[13] *yadiy* conj., Aw. *yêzi*; (1) 'if' always with a following conjunctive: (2) 'when.' *âha(h) yadiy udapatatâ* 'it was when he rose up.'

adurujiya(h)[1] : adam Bardiya(h) amiy hya(h) Kûrauš putra(h), Ka(n)bujiyahyâ brâtâ. Pasâva(h) kâra(h) haruva(h)[2] hamitriya(h)[3] abava(h), hacâ Ka(n)bujiyâ(h) abiy[4] avam ašiyava(n), utâ Pârsa(h) utâ Mâda(h) utâ aniyâ dahyâva(h), ǩšatram hauv agrbâyatâ.[5] Garmapadahya[6] mâhyâ IX raucabiš ťakatâ âha(h) avaťâ ǩšatram agrbâyatâ. Pasâva(h) Ka(n)bujiya(h) (h)uvâmršiyuš[7] amriyatâ[8].

12. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Aita(h)[9] ǩšatram tya Gaumâta(h) hya Maguš adinâ[10] Ka(n)bujiyam, aita(h) ǩšatram hacâ pruviyata(h)

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[1] *duruj* verb 'lie, tell a lie,' Aw. *druj*, Pahlv. *drujîtan* ; imperf. *adurujiya(h) avathâ kârahyâ* or *kâram*. 'he belied the people thus,' *adurujiyasha(n) kâram* 'they belied the people'; part. pret. *durukhta-* 'not true, false,' neutr. *hashiyam naiy durukhtam* 'true, not false,' with rt. *man* 'to regard as a lie.'

[2] *haruva-* adj., 'whole, entire,' *kâra(h) haruva(h)* 'the whole army.' Aw. *haurva*, Mod. P. *har*.

[3] *hamitriya-*, adj. 'rebellious,' masc. sg. nom.-*a(h)*, acc.-*am*, plur. nom. instr. -*aibish*, fem. plur. nom. acc.-*â*, *ha* 'away from' and *mitra* (Aw. *mithra* 'contract').

[4] *abiy*, prepos. with accusative (Aw. *aiwi*, Mod. P. pref. *af-rôkhtan*, etc.); 1, 'to, towards' with rt. *shiyu* 'go over to,' rt. *nî* 'lead to,' rt. *ish* and *fra* 'send to'; 2, 'against' with rt. *shiyu* 'march against,' rt. *ish* and *fra* 'send against'; *ashnaiy âham abiy (H)uvjam* 'I was on the march against or towards Susiana.'

[5] *garb* verb 'seize, grasp,' Aw. rt. *gerew*, Mod. P. *giriftan*. Imperf. indic. act. *agrbâyam* 'I seized (Babylon and that Nadintabaira),' *agrbâya(h)* 'he seized,' *agrbâya(n)* 'they seized'; middle *agrbâyata* 'he seized (for himself)'; pass. *Fravartish agrbâyatâ* 'Fravartish was seized.' Cp. Aw. *gēurvâin*, i. e., **gerewâyen*, Skr. *grbhâyáti* 'he seizes.'

[6] *Garmapada-*, m., gen. sg. -*hyâ*. Name of a Persian month ('having hot traces').

[7] *huvâmrshiyu-*, adj., nom. sg. -*ush*, 'committing suicide' (Aw. *hvâmerethyu*).

[8] *mar* verb 'die,' Aw. rt. *mar*, Mod. P. *murdan* ; imperf. (pass.) *amriyatâ* 'he died.' *â* nominal 'hither, unto, in' (*e.g.*, *âyadana*, *âvahana*) or verbal prefix (with rt. *kar*, rt. *yas*), also *ava â*, *patiy â*; Aw. *â*, (Mod. Persian *âmadan*, etc.)

[9] *aita(h)*, demonstr. pron. neutr. 'this,' *aita(h) khshatram* 'this kingdom', Aw. *aētat*.

[10] *di* verb 'to take away,' Aw. rt. *zi* (*zyâ*), Pahlv. *zinîtan* (a Median form or only an Awestan transcription); imperf. act. *adinam khshatramshim* 'I took the kingdom from him,' *khshatram adinâ(h)* 'he seized the kingdom,' *adinâ(h) Ka(n)bujiyam utâ Pârsam utâ Mâdam* 'he took from Cambyses both Persia and Media,' *tyâdish adinâ(h)* 'which he had taken away from them' (cp. Aw. *zinâț* conj. pres.); part. preter. *dita-*, *avam khshatram ditam cakhriyâ(h)* 'he would have made him deprived of the kingdom.'

amâǩam taumâyâ âha(h). Pasâva(h) Gaumâta(h) hya(h) Maguš adinâ Ka(n)bujiyam, utâ Pârsam utâ Mâdam utâ aniyâ dahyâva(h), hauv[1] âyasatâ[2] (h)uvâipašiyam[3] akutâ, hauv ǩšâyaťiya(h) abava(h).

13. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Naiy âha(h) martiya(h)[4] naiy Pârsa(h) naiy Mâda(h) naiy amâǩam taumâyâ kašciy,[5] hya(h) avam Gaumâtam tyam Magum ǩšatram ditam caǩriyâ(h) ; kârašim hacâ daršam[6] atrsa(h) ;[7] kâram vasiy avâjaniyâ(h) hya(h) paranam[8] Bardiyam adânâ(h).[9] Avahyarâdiy kâram avâjaniyâ(h) mâtyamâm[10] ǩšnâsâtiy[11] tya(h) adam naiy

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[1] *hauv* pron. pers. masc. and fem. 'that' (Aw. *hâu*); fem. *hauvmaiy hashitiyâ abava(h)*, 'she (a land) became rebellious to me.'

[2] *yas*, verb (inchoative stem to rt. *yam*), Aw. the same with *â* 'seize upon,' imperf. middle *âyasatâ: utâ Pârsam utâ Mâdam utâ aniyâ dahyâva(h) hauv âyasatâ*, 'he seized upon both Persia and Media as well as the other provinces;' *avam kâram â* . . 'he seized upon the army'; *kâram â* . . 'he seized upon the troops.'

[3] *(h)uvâipashiya-*, sb. n. 'self-government'; acc. *-am*, *akutâ* 'he practised self-government' (*i.e.* sovereignty) ; *cp.* Aw. *hvaêpaithya.*

[4] *martiya-*, sb. m. 'man,' Mod. P. *mard;* sg. nom. *-a*(h), acc. *-am*, plur. nom. acc. *-â*, instr. *-aibish.*

[5] *ka-*, originally interrog. pron. 'who, what ?' (Aw. *ka*, Mod. P. *kih*) ; with *ciy* indef. pron. 'every, any.' *Kashciy*, (Aw. Gâth. *kas-cît*) *hya(h)* 'any one who'; enclit. *-kaiy* in *adakaiy* (*q. v.*), likewise *tuvam kâ hya(h)* 'thou who (wilt be king)'— *-kaiy* and *kâ* were originally cases.

[6] *darsham* adv. 'strongly, very' (*atrsa(h)* 'he feared' *pati̯paya(h)-uvâ* 'protect thyself.')

[7] *tars*, verb 'fear,' Aw. rt. *tars*, Mod. P. *tarsîdan* ; imperf. *atrsa(h)* 'he feared,' *atrsa(n)* 'they feared' (cp. Aw. *teresaiti*).

[8] *paranam*, adverb 'formerly'; cp. Skr. *purânâ* 'former.'

[9] *dâ*, (rather rt. *dan*, Aw. *zan* ; Mod. P. *dânam*) verb 'know,' imperf. act. *adânâ(h)*, (comp. Aw. Gâth. *zânatâ*) 'he knew' (had known).

[10] *mâtya(h)* conj. 'that not, least'; with conj. *mâtyamâm khshnâsâtiy* 'that he might not know me,' *mâtya(h) maniyâhy, rikanâhy maniyâtiy, thadayâtiy.*

[11] *khshnâs*, verb 'know' (inchoative stem); conj. pres. *mâtyamâm khshnâsâtiy* 'that (the people) might not know me,' Mod. P. *shinâsam* 'I know.'

Bardiya(h) amiy hya(h) Kûrauš putra(h). Kašciy naiy adršnauš[1] ciščiy t̉astanaiy pariy[3] Gaumâtam, tyam Magum, yâtâ adam arasam.[4] Pasâva(h) adam A(h)uramazdâm patiyâvahaiy A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h). Bâgayâdaiš[5] mâhyâ X raucabiš t̉akatâ âha(h), avat̉â adam hadâ[6] kamnaibiš[7] martiyaibiš avam Gaumâtam tyam Magum avâjanam utâ tyaišaiy fratamâ martiyâ anušiyâ âha(n)tâ. Šikaya(h)uvatiš[8] nâmâ didâ[9] Nisâya[10] nâmâ dahyâuš Mâdaiy, avadašim[11] avâjanam, k̉šatramšim adam adinam. Vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) adam k̉šâyat̉iya(h) abavam : A(h)uramazdâ k̉šatram manâ frâbara(h).

14. T̉âtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̉šâyat̉iya(h): K̉šatram tya(h) hacâ amâk̉am taumâyâ(h) parâbrtam âha(h), ava(h) adam patipadam[12] akunavam, adamšim

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[1] *darsh*, verb 'dare,' Aw. rt. *darsh*; imperf. act. *adrshnaush thastanaiy* 'he dared to say.'

[2] *ci-* originally interrog. pron. 'who?' Aw. *ci*; neutr. acc. sg. *cish-ciy* 'anything'; (Mod. P. *ciz*); enclit. neutr. *-ciy* : *kash-ciy* (Aw. Gâthâ, *kas-cit*) *naiy adrshnaush cish-ciy thastanaiy* 'any one did not dare to say anything,' *aniyash-ciy* (Skr. *anyáccid*) 'something else,' *paruvam-ciy* 'formerly also.' See also *citá*.

[3] *pariy* prepos. with accusative 'against' (Skr. *pári*) *pariy Gaumátam* '(any one did not dare to say anything) against G.'

[4] *ras* verb 'arrive,' Mod. P. *rasîdan*; imperf. *arasam* 'I arrived' (*Mádam arasam* 'I went to Media'); with *para*, 'arrive,' imperf. *parárasam Mádam* 'I came to Media,' *parárasa(h) Arminam* 'he came to Armenia,' *abiy Vishtáspam* 'to Vishtâsp.'

[5] *bágayádi-*, sg. gen. *-aish*; name of a Persian month ('the month of the worship of the gods').

[6] *hadá* prepos. 'with' with instrumental; Aw. *hadha*.

[7] *kamna-*, adj., 'little, few' (Aw. *kamna*, Mod. P. *kam*); instr. plur. *-aibish*; adverb *-am* : *kára(h) kamnam áha(h)*, 'the army was small in number.'

[8] *Sikaya(h)uvati-*, f., sg. nom. *-ish*; name of a fortress in the district of Nisâya.

[9] *didá-*, sb. f. 'fortress,' sg. nom. *-á*, acc. *-ám*; not identical to Mod. P. *diz*, *dizh* 'fortress,' which rather belongs to Aw. *daēza* in *pairidaēza*.

[10] *Nisáya-*, m. sg., nom. *-a(h)*: name of a district in Media.

[11] *-shi-* enclit. pronoun 'he, it'; sg. acc. *-shim* in *adam-shim* (once neut. sc. *khshatram*), *avadá-shim*, *ápishim* (from *ápish-shim*), *utá-shim*, *kára-shim*, *khshatram-shim*, *pasáva-shim*, *haruva-shim*; pl. acc. *-shish* in *avada-shish*.

[12] *patipada-*, adj. 'being in its place'; neutr. sg. acc. *-am khshatram akunavam* 'I put the kingdom (back) in its place,' *i.e.*, 'I restored it'; *patipadam* may also be an adverb *patiy* and accus. sg. *padam* from *pad*, '*foot*,' cp. *nipadiy*).

gâťavâ[1] avâstâyam,[2] yaťâ paruvamciy avaťâ adam akunavam. Âyadanâ[3] tyâ Gaumâta(h) hya(h) Maguš viyaka(n)[4] adam niyatrârayam[5] kârahyâ abâcariš[6] gaiťâmcâ,[7] mâniyamcâ,[8] viťaibiscâ,[9] tyâdiš Gaumâta(h) hya(h) Maguš adinâ(h). Adam kâram gâťvâ avâstâyam Pârsamcâ Mâdamcâ utâ aniyâ dahyâva(h), yaťâ paruvamciy avatâ adam tya(h) parâbrtam patiyâbaram, vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) ima(h) adam akunavam. Adam hamatakšaiy[10] yâtâ viťam[11] tyâm amâkam gâťavâ avâstâ-

[1] *gáthu-*, sb. m., 'place'; loc. sg. *gáthavá avástáyam* 'I put in (its) place.'

[2] *stá* verb 'stay,' Aw. *stá*, Mod.P. *istádan* (older *ěstádan*); imperf. middle *a(h)ishtatá avadá* 'there it (the army) stood'; with *avá* 'put down'; imperf. *avástáyam gáthavá* 'I put in its place'; with *niy* 'command, order,' imperf. *niyashtáyam* (with *sht* instead of *st*) *uzmayápatiy ákariya(n)tám* 'I ordered that they shall be empaled.'

[3] *áyadana-*, sb. n., 'place of worship' (not 'temple'), pl. acc. *-á;* from rt. *yad*, Aw. *yaz* 'worship' and prefix *á*.

[4] *kan*, verb 'dig,' Aw. rt. *kan*, Mod. Pers. *kandan*,—with *ava: adam káram ma . . ká(h)uvá avákanam* 'I dug down (*i.e.* I divided) my army in two parts (?); with *niy: avataiy A(h)uramazdá nika(n)tuv* 'A. may destroy it to thee;' with *viy* nominal or verbal prefix, 'asunder' (Aw. *vi*, Mod.P. *gudháshtan*, etc.); *viyaka(n)* 'he had destroyed' (the places of worship), pres. conj. *mátya(h) vikanáhy* 'thou mayest not destroy,' *yadiy vikanáh(i)dish* 'if thou destroyest them.'

[5] *trári-*, verb (reduplicated intensive form); with *niy* 'restore,' pret. *niy-atrárayam* 'I restored,' comp. Aw. *nisrárayáo* 'thou shalt restore.'

[6] *abácarish* or *abicarish*, the reading being quite uncertain. There are plenty of interpretations (*e.g.* 'market-places, commerce'—Pahlv. *vácár* does not allow a comparison with Mod.P. *bázár*—'pasture-ground, resources, waterworks, liberty'), but none of them is convincing.

[7] *gaithá-*, sb., f., sg. acc. *-ám* 'possession, fortune, estate'; Aw. *gaēthá*.

[8] *mániya-*, sb. n., sg. acc. 'the house'; Mod. P. *mán* 'house.'

[9] *vitha-*, pron. 'all, every' (also *visa*, a Median form in contrast to *vispa*); plur. instr. *vithaibish-cá* 'and altogether' (Bartholomae).

[10] *takhsh* verb, Aw. rt. *thwakhsh*, 'be active,' Mod. P. *tukhshá* 'energetical';

with *ham* 'endeavour, be active' imperf. middle *ham-atakhshaiy* 'I endeavoured,' *ham-atakhshatá maná vithiyá* 'he was active on the side of my family,' *ham-atakhsha(n)tá* 'they were active as my followers.'

[11] *vith.*, sb. f., 'race, tribe, family' (Aw. *vis*); sg. acc. *-am tyám amákham* 'our family', instr. *vithá-patiy kára(h) hya(h) áha(h)* 'the army that was at home (there)', *i.e.*, the army formed by the natives of the province, this being a principle of king Darius; loc. *vithiyá*; *hya(h) hamatakhshatá maná v.* . , 'who was active on the side of my family.'

yam, yaťâ paruvamciy avaťâ adam hamatak̓šaiy, vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) yaťâ Gaumâta(h) hya(h) Maguš viťam tyâm amâk̓am naiy parâbara(h).

15. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̓šâyaťiya(h): Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam, pasâva(h) yaťâ k̓šâyaťiya(h) abavam.

16. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̓šâyaťiya(h): Yaťâ adam Gaumâtam tyam Magum avâjanam. Pasâva(h) I martiya(h) Âtrina(h)[1] nâma(n), Upadara(n)mahyâ[2] putra(h), hauv udapatatâ (H)uvjaiy, kârahyâ avaťâ aťaha(h): Adam (H)uvjaiy k̓šâyaťiya(h) amiy. Pasâva(h) (H)uvjiyâ hamitriyâ abava(n), abiy avam Âtrinam ašiyava(n); hauv k̓šâyaťiya(h) abava(h) (H)uvjaiy. Utâ I martiya(h) Bâbiruviya(h),[3] Nadi(n)tabaira(h)[4] nâma(n), Ainarahyâ[5] putra(h), hauv udapatatâ Bâbirauv, kâram avaťâ adurujiya(h): Adam Nabukudracara(h)[6] amiy, hya(h) Nabunaitahyâ[7] putra(h). Pasâva(h) kâra(h) hya(h) Bâbiruviya(h) haruva(h) abiy avam Nadi(n)tabairam ašiyava(h), Bâbiruš[8] hamitriya(h) abava(h); k̓šatram tya(h) Bâbirauv hauv agrbâyatâ.

17. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̓šâyaťiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam (kâram) frâišayam[9] (H)uvjam. Hauv Âtrina(h) basta(h)[10] anayatâ[11] abiy mâm, adamšim avâjanam.

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[1] *Âtrina-*, m. sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*. Name of a Susian rebel; notwithstanding that the name is Persian, it is an abbreviation from Âtaredâda or the like with the suffix *-ina*.

[2] *Upadara(n)ma-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahyâ*; name of a Susian (*Ukpâtarranma*).

[3] *Bâbiruviya-*, adj. (1) 'Babylonical'; (2) 'the Babylonian'; nom. sg. *-a(h)*.

[4] *Nadi(n)tabaira-*, m, sg. nom. *-a(h)*; acc. *-am*, gen. *-ahyâ* 'Nidintubêl' (a Babylonian).

[5] *Ainara-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahyâ*; name of Nadintabaira's father; Babyl. '*Aniri*.'

[6] *Nabukudracara-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Nebukadrezar' (the Babylonian king).

[7] *Nabunaita-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyâ* Nabuna'id' (the last Babylonian king).

[8] *Bâbiru-*, sg. nom. *-ush*, acc. *-um*, gen. (abl.) *-aush*, loc. *-auv*; 'Babylon.'

[9] *ish* (Aw. the same), causative stem with *fra* 'to send'; imperf. *frâishayam* 'I sent,' *frâishaya(h)* 'he sent.'

[10] *ba(n)d* verb 'bind,' (Aw. rt. *band*, Mod. P. *bandan*); part. pret. *basta-*, nom. sg. *-a(h)*, plur. *-â*.

[11] *nî*, verb 'conduct, lead,' Aw. rt. *nî*, Pahlv. *nîtan*. Imperf. act. *anaya(h)* 'he led (him),' pass. *anayatâ* 'he was led'—perhaps it would be better to read *ânaya(h)* and *ânayatâ* (with prefix *â*);

with *patiy* and *â* 'to bring forward,' *aniyahyâ aspâ patiy-ânayam* 'to the other (part) I brought forward horses,' *i.e.*, I gave them horses.

18. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaṫiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam Bâbirum ašiyavam abiy avam Nadi(n)tabairam, hya(h) Nabuk(u)dracara(h) agaubatâ.[1] Kâra(h) hya(h) Nadi(n)tabirahyâ Tigrâm adâraya(h), avadâ a(h)ištatâ[2] utâ abiš[3] nâviyâ[4] âha(h). Pasâva(h) adam k̇aram ma . . kâ-(h)uvâ avâkanam,[5] aniyam . . šabârim akunavam aniyahyâ aspâ patiyânayam. A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) Tigrâm viyatarayâma.[6] Pasâva(h) avadâ kâram tyam Nadi(n)tabairahyâ

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[1] *gub* verb, 'speak,' middle 'to call himself, to be called,' Mod. P. *guftan*. Pres. indic. *gaubataiy* (*kâra(h) hya(h) manâ naiy*) 'the army which does not call itself mine,' (*kâram hya(h) Dârayava(h)aush khshâyathiyahyâ*) 'the army which calls itself of Darius the king'; conj. *gaubâtaiy* (only once, perhaps erroneously instead of the indicative); imperf. sg. *agaubatâ* (*hya(h) Nabukudracara(h)*) 'who called himself N.,' (*hya(h) Mâdaiy khshâyathiya(h)* 'who called himself king in Media,' (*hya(h) Bardiya(h)* 'who called himself B.,' imperf. pl. *agauba(n)tâ Fravartaish* 'they called themselves of Fravartish (*i.e.* his followers).'

[2] *stâ* verb 'stay,' Aw. *stâ*, Mod.P. *istâdan* (older *êstâdan*); imp., middle *a(h)ishtatâ avadâ* 'there it (the army) stood'; with *ava* 'put down'; imperf. *avâstâyam gâthavâ* 'I put in its place';

with *niy* 'command, order, imperf. *niyashtâyam* (with *sht* instead of *st*) *uzmayâpatiy âkariya(n)tâm* 'I ordered: they shall be empaled.'

[3] *abish*, adverb 'thereby'; as *patish* from *patiy*.

[4] *nâviyâ-*, sb. f. 'squadron (of ships)'; sg. nom. *-â utâ abish âha(h)* 'and thereby was a squadron': Aw. cp. *navâza* 'navigator,' Mod. P. *nâv*. 'boat,' *nâkhudâ* 'shipmaster.'

[5] *kan* verb 'to dig,' Aw. rt. *kan*, Mod. P. *kandan*;

with *ava*: *adam kâram ma . . . kâ(h)uvâ avâkanam* 'I dug down (*i.e.* I divided) my army in two parts' (?);

with *niy*: *avataiy A(h)uramazdâ nika(n) tuv*: 'May A(h)uramazda destroy it to thee';

with *viy*: *viyaka(n)* he had destroyed' (the places of worship), pres. conj, *mâtya(h) vikanâhy* 'thou mayest not destroy,' *yadiy vikanâh(i)dish* 'if thou destroyest them.'

[6] *tar* verb, Aw. rt. *tar* 'cross;'

with *fra* 'conduct, lead' (Skr. tr. *tar+pra*), part. pret. *fratrta(h)* [*âha(h)*] *hacâ yadâyâ(h)* 'the army was led astray from reverence,' *i.e.* 'it broke its oath of allegiance';

with *viy* 'cross' (a river), *viyatarayâma Tigrâm* 'we crossed the Tigris'; Mod. P. *gudashtan*, *guzaram*.

adam ajanam vasiy. Âtriyâdiyahya[1] mâhyâ XXVI raucabiš ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâ hamaranam akumâ.

19. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̆šayaťiya(h) : Pasâva(h) adam Bâbirum ašiyavam. Abiy Bâbirum yaťâ naiy upâyam, Zazâna(h)[2] nâma(n) vardanam[3] anuv[4]Hufrâtauvâ,[5] avadâ hauv Nadi(n)tabaira(h), hya(h) Nabuk(u)dracara(h) agaubatâ, aiš hadâ kârâ patiš[6] mâm hamaranam cartanaiy. Pasâva(h) hamaranam akumâ, A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâram tyam Nadi(n)tabairahyâ adam ajanam vasiy. Aniya(h) âpiyâ[7] ahyatâ[8] âpišim parâbara(h). Anâmakahya[9] mâhyâ II raucabiš ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâ hamaranam akumâ.

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[1] *Âtriyâdiya*,- m., gen. sg. *-ahyâ*; name of a Persian month ('the month of the worship of the fire').

[2] *Zazâna-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*; name of a city near Babylon.

[3] *Vardana-*, sb. n., sing. nom, *-am* 'city' (not Mod. P. *barzan*). [Pers. بلده].

[4] *anuv* prepos. with locative 'along, by'; Aw. *anu*.

[5] *Hufrâtu-*, Old Persian form of the river Frât (Euphrates); loc. sg. *-auvâ* (*anuv*) 'along the Euphrates.'

[6] *patish* prepos. with accusative 'against'; Mod.P. *pesh.* 'before, in front,' is to be derived from Aw. *paitisha* 'in front.'

[7] *âpi-*, sb. f., 'water' (Aw. *âp-*, Mod. P. *âb*), sing. nom. *âpish* in *âpishim* (from *âpishshim*), loc. *âpiyâ : aniya(h) âpiyâ âhyatâ âpishim parâbara(h)*, 'the other (remaining part) was thrown into the water, the water bore it away.'

[8] *ah* rt. 'throw'; 3rd. sing. pret. pass. *âhyatâ* 'he was thrown' (Skr. *asyatâ*).

[9] *anâmaka-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahya;* name of a Persian month (not 'the nameless' which would be the intercalary month, but 'the month of the nameless,' *i. e.*, of the Highest God—therefore perhaps *ânâmaka*).

COLUMN II.

1. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̆šâyaťiya(h): Pasâva(h) Nadi(n)tabaira(h) hadâ kamnaibiš asabâribiš[1] abiy Bâbirum ašiyava(h). Pasâva(h) adam Bâbirum ašiyavam: vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) utâ Bâbirum agrbâyam, utâ avam Nadi(n)tabairam agrabâyam. Pasâva(h) avam Nadi(n)tabairam adam Bâbirauv avâjanam.

2. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̆šâyaťiya(h) : Yâtâ adam Bâbirauv âham imâ dahyâva(h) tyâ hacâma(h) hamitriyâ abava(n): Pârsa(h), (H)uvja(h) Mâda(h)[8], Aťurâ, Mudrâya(h), Parťava(h),[2] Marguš, Ṫataguš, Saka(h).

3. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̆šâyaťiya(h): I martiya(h) Martiya(h) nâma(n), Ci(n)cik̆râiš[4] putra(h), Kuganakâ[5] nâma(n) vardanam Pârsaiy, avadâ adâraya(h), hauv udapatatâ (H)uvjaiy, kârahyâ avaťâ aťaha(h): Adam Imaniš[6] amiy (H)uvjaiy k̆šâyaťiya(h).

4. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̆šâyaťiya(h) : Adakaiy[7] adam ašnaiy[8] âham abiy (H)uvjam. Pasâva(h) hacâma(h) atrsa(n) (H)uvjiyâ avam Martiyam agrbâya(n), hyašâm maťišta(h)[9] âha(h), utâšim avâjana(n).

5. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̆šâyaťiya(h): I martiya(h) Fravartiš nâma(n) Mâda(h), hauv udapatatâ Mâdaiy, kârahyâ avaťâ aťaha(h) : Adam k̆šaťrita(h)[10] amiy (H)uvak̆štrahyâ[11] taumâyâ. Pasâva(h) kâra(h) Mâda(h) hya(h) v(i)ťâpatiy âha(h), hacâma(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h) abiy avam Fravartim ašiyava(h) ; hauv k̆šâyaťiya(h) abava(h) Mâdaiy.

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[1] *asabâri-*, sb. m. plur. instr. *-ibish*, 'horseman'; Pahlv. *asbâr*, *i.e.*, *asvâr*, Mod. P. *savâr*.

[2] *Parthava-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'Parthia'; Mod. P. *pahlav* 'hero,' (originally 'Parthian').

[3] *Martya-*, nom. sg. *-a(h)*; name of a Susian rebel.

[4] *Ci(n)cikhri-*, m., gen. sg. *-āish*; father of the rebel Martiya (the Babylonian text has Sinsakhrish).

[5] *Kuganakâ-*, f., nom. sg. *-â*. Name of a city in Persia.

[6] *Imani-*, m., nom. sg. *-ish*; name of a Susian rebel (the Susian form of the name is *Ummanish)*.

[7] *adakaiy* adverb 'then, at that time;' Aw. *adha* and *kaiy* (see *ka-* above).

[8] *az* verb 'march' Aw. rt. *az* 'drive, go'); *ashnaiy* infinitive locative 'on the march.'

[9] *mathista-*, adj. 'greatest, leader.' Aw. *masyāo* 'greater,' Mod.P. *mahist* 'worthy'; sg. som. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*.

[10] *Khshathrita-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*. Name of a Median king; abbreviation from *Khshatradâra*, or the like, with the suffix *-ita*.

[11] *(H)uvakhshatra-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyâ* 'Cyaxares'; the *tr* (instead of *th*) belongs to another dialect than *khshatra*, etc.

6. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Kâra(h) Pârsa(h) utâ Mâda(h), hya(h) upâ[1] mâm âha(h), hauv kamnam âha(h). Pasâva(h) adam kâram frâišayam. Vidarna(h) nâma(n) Pârsa(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h), avamšâm maťištam akunavam, avaťâšâm aťaham : Paraitâ, avam kâram tyam Mâdam jatâ, hya(h) manâ naiy gaubataiy. Pasâva(h) hauv Vidarna(h) hadâ kârâ ašiyava(h). Yaťâ Mâdam parârasa(h),[2] Maruš[3] nâma(n) vardanam Mâdaiy, avadâ hamaranam akunauš hadâ Mâdaibiš. Hya(h) Mâdaišuvâ maťišta(h) âha(h), hauv adakaiy naiy adâraya(h). A(h)urmazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) Vidarnahyâ[4] avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Anâmakahya mâhyâ XXVII raucâbiš ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâšâm hamaranam krtam. Pasâva(h) hauv kâra(h) hya(h) manâ-Ka(n)-pada(h)[5] nâmâ dahyâuš Mâdaiy-avadâ mâm citâ[6] amânaya(h),[7] yâtâ adam arasam Mâdam.

7. Ṫatiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Pasâva(h) Dâdaršiš[8] nâma(n) Arminiya(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h), avam adam frâišayam Arminam, avaťâšaiy aťaham : Paraidiy, kâra(h) hya(h) hamitriya(h) manâ naiy gaubataiy avam jadiy. Pasâva(h) Dâdaršiš ašiyava(h) ; yaťâ Arminam parârasa(h) pasâva(h) hamitriyâ hagmatâ, paraitâ patiš Dâdaršim hamaranam cartanaiy. Zuza(h) nâma(n) âvahanam[9] Armaniyaiy, avadâ hamaranam akunava(n).

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[1] *upâ* 1, prepos. with accusative 'on with,' *upâ mâm* 'with me'; 2, nominal prefix in *upastâ*; Aw. *upa*, Mod. P. prefix *ba-* in *bâyad* 'it is necessary' from Old P. *upâyatiy*.

[2] *ras* verb 'arrive,' Mod.P. *rasîdan* ; imperf. *arasam* 'I arrived' (*Mâdam arasam* 'I went to Media'); with *para*, 'arrive,' imperf. *parârasam Mâdam* 'I came to Media,' *parârasa(h) Arminam* 'he came to Armenia,' *abiy Vishtâspam* 'to Vishtâsp.'

[3] *Maru-*, sg. nom. *-ush*; a city in Media (there is a Marg between Kermânshâhân and Holwân).

[4] *Vidarna-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, gen. *-ahyâ*, name of one of the seven conspirators against the false Smerdis ('preserver').

[5] *Ka(n)pada-*, m., sg. nom., *-a(h)*; a district in Media (Kermânshâhân)

[6] *citâ* conj., *citâ — yâtâ* 'as long—until': *avadâ mâm amânaya(h) yâtâ adam arasam* 'there he awaited me until I arrived.'

[7] *man* verb 'expect,' Aw. rt. *man* Mod. P. *mândan* ; imperf. *amânaya(h) mâm citâ* 'he expected me until I arrived.'

[8] *Dâdarshi-*, m., sg. nom. *-ish*, acc. *-im* ; name of an Armenian and of a Persian commander of King Darius. Perhaps *Dâdrshi*, cp. Skr. *dâdhrshi* 'courageous, bold.'

[9] *âvahana-*, sb. n., sg. nom. *-am* 'place, village'; Armen. *van* 'market-town, borough' (?), Skr. rt. *vas* 'dwell' and prefix *â*.

A(h)urmazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Ṫuravâharahya[1] mâhyâ VIII raucabiś ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâśâm hamaranam krtam.

8. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś k̇śâyaťiya(h): Patiy duvitiyam hamitriyâ hagmatâ paraitâ patiś Dâdarśim hamaranam cartanaiy. Tigra(h)[2] nâmâ didâ[3] Armaniyaiy, avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Ṫuravâharahya mâhyâ XVIII raucabiś ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâśâm hamaranam krtam.

9. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś k̇śâyaťiya(h): Patiy tritiyam hamitriyâ hagmatâ paraitâ patiś Dâdarśim hamaranam cartanaiy. Uhyâma(h) nâmâ didâ Armaniyaiy, avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Ṫâigracaiś[4] mâhyâ IX raucabiś ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâśâm hamaranam krtam. Pasâva(h) Dâdarśiś citâ mâm amânaya(h) a . . . yâtâ adam arasam Mâdam.

10. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś k̇śâyaťiya(h): Pasâva(h) Va(h)umisa(h) nâma(n) Pârsa(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h), avam adam frâiśayam Arminam, avatâśaiy aťaham: Paraidiy, kâra(h) hya(h) hamitriya(h), manâ naiy gaubataiy, avam jadiy. Pasâva(h) Va(h)umisa(h) aśiyava(h). Yaťâ Arminam parârasa(h), pasâva(h) hamitriyâ hagmatâ paraitâ patiś Va(h)umisam hamaranam cartanaiy. Yzituś nâmâ dahyâuś Aťurâyâ, avadâ hamaranum akunava(n). A(h)urmazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Anâmakahya mâhyâ XV raucabiś ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâśâm hamaranam krtam.

11. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś k̇śâyaťiya(h): Patiy duvitiyam hamitriyâ hagmatâ paraitâ patiś Va(h)umisam hamaranam cartanaiy. Autiyâra(h)[5] nâmâ dahyâuś Arminaiy, avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Tûravâharahya mâhyâ . . iyamanam patiy, avaťâśâm hamaranam krtam. Pasâva(h) Va(h)umisa(h) citâ mâm amânaya(h) Arminaiy, yâtâ adam arasam Mâdam.

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[1] *Thûravâhara-*, sb. m., gen. sg. *-ahya*; name of a Persian month ('the month of the sublime spring'; Aw. *sûra* and Mod. P. *bahâr*).

[2] *Tigra-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*; name of a fortress in Armenia.

[3] *didâ-*, sb. f. 'fortress,' sg. nom. *-â*, acc. *-âm*; not identical with Mod. P. *diz*, *dizh* 'fortress,' which rather belongs to Aw. *daēza* in *pairidaēza*.

[4] *Thâigraci-*, gen. sg. *-aish*. Name of a Persian month (according to Justi 'the month of the garlic-gatherers': *thigra*, Mod. P. *sir* and *ci-* 'gatherer' Mod. P. *cidan*).

[5] *Autiyâra-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*; 'name of a district in Armenia.'

12. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś k̓śâyat̓iya(h) : Pasâva(h) adam niyâyam hac̓â Bâbirauś aśiyavam Mâdam. Yat̓â Mâdam parârasam Ku(n)duruś[1] nâma(n) vardanam Mâdaiy, avadâ hauv Fravartiś, hya(h) Mâdaiy k̓śâyat̓iya(h) agaubatâ, aiś hadâ kârâ patiś mâm hamaranam cartanaiy. Pasâva(h) hamaranam akumâ. A(h)urmazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâram tyam Fravartaiś adam ajanam vasiy. Âdukanaiś[2] mâhyâ XXVI raucabiś t̓akatâ âha(h), avat̓â hamaranam akumâ.

13. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś k̓śâyat̓iya(h): Pasâva(h) hauv Fravartiś, hadâ kamnaibiś asabâribiś, amut̓a(h)[3] Ragâ[4] nâmâ dahyâuś Mâdaiy avadâ aśiyava(h). Pasâva(h) adam kâram frâiśayam tyaipatiy, Fravartiś agrbâyatâ, anayatâ abiy mâm. Adamśaiy utâ nâham[5] utâ gauśâ[6] utâ (h)izuvam frâjanam utâśaiy caśma avajam. Duvarayâmaiy[7] basta(h) adâriy haruvaśim[8] kâra(h) avaina(h).[9] Pasâva(h) adam Hagmatânaiy[10] uzmayâpatiy[11]

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[1] *Ku(n)duru-*, nom. sg. *-ush*. Name of a city in Media, probably the modern Kundur near Qazwîn.

[2] *Âdukani-* gen. sg. *-aish;* name of a Persian month (according to Justi 'the month of canal-digging,' Aw. compare *âdhu -frâdhana* 'furthering the canals').

[3] *amutha(h)*, adverb 'thence': Skr. *amútaḥ*.

[4] *Ragâ-*, f. sg. nom. *-â*, gen. abl. *-âyâ;* old name of the district of Rai.

[5] *nâh-*, sb. m. 'nose,' sg. acc. *-am;* Aw. *nâoṅhâ*.

[6] *gausha-*, sb. m., dual acc. -â, 'ears'; Aw. *gaosha*, Mod. P. *gôsh*.

[7] *duvar-*, sb. m. 'door, court' Aw. *dvar*, Mod. P. *dar* 'door'; sg. loc. *-ayâ-maiy* 'at my court.'

[8] *haruva-*, adj,. 'whole, entire,' *kâra(h) haruva(h)* 'the whole army'; Aw. *haurva*, Mod. P. *har*.

[9] *vain* verb 'see,' Aw. rt. *vaēn*, Mod. P. *bîn-am;* pres. conj. *vainâhy* 'thou mayest see,' imperf. *avaina(h) haruvashim kâra(h)* 'the whole people saw him.'

[10] *Hagmatâna-*, loc. sg. *-aiy*, 'Ecbatana,' Mod.P. *Hamadân* ('the place of coming together.')

[11] *uzam-*, sb. f., lit. 'a thing protruding from the earth' (*ud* and *zam* 'earth') *i.e.* 'a post, pale'; sg. loc. *uzmayâpatiy avam akunavam*, 'I made him on a pale,' *i.e.* 'I empaled him,' *âkariya(n)tâm* 'they shall be empaled.'

akunavam, utâ martiyâ tyaiśaiy fratamâ anuśiyâ[1] âha(n)tâ, avaiy[2] Hagmatânaiy a(n)tar didâm frâha(n)jam.[3]

14. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś ǩśâyaťiya(h): I martiya(h) Citra(n)taǩma(h)[4] nâma(n) Asagartiya(h),[5] hauvmaiy hamitriya(h) abava(h), kârahyâ avaťâ aťaha(h): Adam ǩśâyaťiya(h) amiy Asagartaiy (H)uvaǩśtrahyâ taumâyâ. Pasâva(h) adam kâram Pârsam utâ Mâdam frâiśayam. Taǩmaspâda(h)[6] nâma(n) Mâda(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h) avamśâm maťiśtam akunavam, avaťâśâm aťaham: Paraitâ, kâram tyam hamitriyam hya(h) manâ naiy gaubâtaiy avam jatâ. Pasâva(h) Taǩmaspâda(h) hadâ kârâ aśiyava(h), hamaranam akunauś hadâ Citra(n)taǩmâ. A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n), utâ Citra(n)taǩmam agrbâya(h), anaya(h) abiy mâm. Pasâvaśaiy adam utâ nâham utâ gauśâ frâjanam, utâśaiy caśma avajam. Duvarayâmaiy basta(h) adâriy, haruvaśim kâra(h) avaina(h). Pasâvaśim Arbairâyâ uzmayâpatiy akunavam.

15. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś ǩśâyaťiya(h): Ima(h)tya manâ krtam Mâdaiy.

16. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uś ǩśâyaťiya(h). Parťava(h) utâ Vrkana(h)[7] *hamitriyâ abava*(n) *utâ* Fravartaiś agauba(n)tâ. Viśtâspa(h) manâ pitâ *hauv Parťavaiy âha(h)* kâra*śim* a*vârada(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h)*. Viśtâspa(h) hadâ *kârâ hya(h)* anuśiya(h) *par*âya(h). Vispa(h)uzatiś nâma(n) vardanam *Parťavaiy, ava*dâ hamaranam akunava(n). *A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vaśnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) Viśtâspa(h) kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy*, Viyaǩnahya mâhyâ XXII raucabiś ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâśâm hamaranam krtam.

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[1] *anushiya-*, sb. m., 'follower'; plur. nom. *-â*. From *anuv* with the suffix *-shiya* (Aw. *-thya*, Skr. *-tya*).

[2] *ava-*, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. *ava*, Mod.P. *ô*; sing. acc. *avam*, gen. *avahyâ*, comp. *avahyarâdiy*; plur. nom. acc. *avaiy*, gen. *avaishâm*; neutr. sg. acc. *ava(h)*, (Aw. *avat*), *avaparâ* 'by, past that' ('he went past that').

[3] *ha(n)j* verb with *fra*, imperf. *frâha(n)jam avaiy Hagmatânaiy a(n)tar didâm* 'I hanged them up at Ecbatana in the fortress,' Skr. rt. *sañj* 'hang'; *a(n)tar* seems to be a false restoration, Foy therefore proposes *para(h)* 'before,' Aw. *parô*, Skr. *puras* 'I hanged them up in Ecbatana before the fortress.'

[4] *Citra(n)takhma-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, instr. *-â*. Name of a Sagartian rebel ('strong with regard to the offspring,' *citram* being accusative neutr., cp. Greek Tritantaikhmês); Mod. P. *cihr-taham* (Aw. *Cithrat* and *takhma*).

[5] *Asagartiya-*, sg. nom. *-a(h)*, 'Sagartian.'

[6] *Takhmaspâda-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*; name of a commander of King Darius ('having a strong army'; Aw. *spâdha*, Mod. P. *sipâh*).

[7] *Vrkâna-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, 'Hyrcania'; Mod. P. *Gurgân*.

COLUMN III.

1. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaṫiya(h) : Pasâva(h) adam kâram Pârsam frâišayam abiy Vištâspam hacâ Ragâyâ. Yaṫâ hauv kâra(h) parârasa(h) abiy Vištâspam, pasâva(h) Vištâspa(h) âyasatâ[1] avam kâram ašiyava(h). Patigrâbanâ[2] nâma(n) vardanam Parṫavaiy, avadâ hamaranam akunauš hadâ hamitriyaibiš. A(h)urmazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)urmazdâha(h) Vištâspa(h) avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Garmapadahya mâhyâ I rauca ṫakatâ âha(h), avaṫâšâm hamaranam krtam.

2. Ṫatiy Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaṫiya(h) : Pasâva(h) dahyâuš manâ abava(h), ima(h) tya(h) manâ krtam Parṫavaiy.

3. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaṫiya(h) : Marguš[3] nâmâ dahyâuš, hauvmaiy hašitiyâ[4] abava(h). I martiya(h) Frâda(h)[5] nâma(n) Mârgava(h), avam maṫištam akunavatâ. Pasâva(h) adam frâišayam Dâdaršiš nâma(n) Pârsa(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h), Bâk̇triyâ[6] k̇šatrapâvâ, abiy avam avaṫâšaiy aṫaham: Paraidiy, avam kâram jadiy hya(h) manâ naiy gaubataiy. Pasâva(h) Dâdaršiš hadâ kârâ ašiyava(h), hamaranam akunauš hadâ Margayaibiš. A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Âtriyâdiyahya[7] mâhyâ XXIII raucabiš ṫakatâ âha(h), avaṫâšâm hamaranam krtam.

4. Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaṫiya(h) : Pasâva(h) dahyâuš manâ abava(h), ima(h) tya(h) manâ krtam Bâk̇triyâ.

5. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)us k̇šâyaṫiya(h) : I martiya(h) Vahyazdâta(h)[8] nâma(n), Târavâ[9] nâma(n) vardanam Yutiyâ[10] nâmâ dahyâuš Pârsaiy, avadâ

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[1] *Âyasatâ*, imperf. middle, rt. *yas* (incohative stem to rt. *yam*), Aw. the same; with *â* 'seize upon': *utâ Pârsam utâ Mâdam utâ aniyâ dahyâva(h) hauv âyasatâ* 'he seized both Persia and Media as well as other provinces,' *avam kâram âyasatâ* 'he seized the army.'

[2] *Patigrabanâ-*, f., nom. sg. *-â*; name of a city in Parthia.

[3] *Margu-*, sg. nom. *-ush*, acc. *-um* 'Margiana, Merw'; Aw. *Mouru*.

[4] *hashitiya-*, adj., 'rebellious,' sg. nom. *-â*; *ha* 'away from' and *shiti* Skr. *khshiti* 'dwelling place,' therefore, originally, 'one who deserts from his dwelling place.'

[5] *Frâda-*, m. nom. sg. *-a(h)* Name of a rebel in Margiana.

[6] *Bâkhtri-*, f., sg. nom. *-ish*, loc. *-iyâ* 'Bactria,' Mod. P. *Balkh*.

[7] *Âtriyâdiya-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahya*; name of a Persian month ('the month of the worship of the fire').

[8] *Vahyazdâta-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*, gen. *-ahyâ*; name of a Persian rebel ('given by the best,' *i.e.* by Hormuzd).

[9] *Târavâ-*, f., sg. nom. *-â*: name of a city in Persia.

[10] *Yutiyâ-*, f., nom. sg. *-â*; name of a district in Persia.

adâraya(h). Hauv duvitiyam[1] udapatatâ Pârsaiy, kârahyâ avaĉâ aĉaha(h): adam Bardiya(h) amiy hya(h) Kûrauš putra(h). Pasâva(h) kâra(h) Pârsa(h) hya(h) viĉâpatiy hacâ yadâyâ(h)[2] fratrta(h). Hauv hacâma(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h) abiy avam Vahyazdâtam ašiyava(h), hauv k̔šâyaĉiya(h) abavah Pârsaiy.

6. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̔šâyaĉiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam kâram Pârsam utâ Mâdam frâišayam, hya(h) upâ mâm âha(h). Artavardiya(h)[3] nâma(n) Pârsa(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h), avamšâm maĉištam akunavam, hya(h) aniya(h) kâra(h) Pârsa(h) pasâ manâ ašiyava(h) *Mâdam. Pasâva(h) Artavardiya(h) hadâ kârâ ašiyava(h)* Pârsam. Yaĉâ Pârsam parârasa(h), Rak̔â[4] nâma(n) vardanam Pârsaiy, avadâ hauv Vahyazdâta(h) hya(h) Bardiya(h) agaubatâ, âiš hadâ kârâ patiš Artavardiyam hamaranam cartanaiy. Pasâva(h) hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)urmazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam Vahyazdâtahya aja(n) vasiy. Ṫuravâharahya mâhyâ XII raucabiš ĉakatâ âha(h), avatâšâm hamaranam krtam.

7. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̔šâyaĉiya(h): Pasâva(h) hauv Vahyazdâta(h) hadâ kamnaibiš asabâribiš amuĉa(h) ašiyava(h) Paišiyâ(h)uvâdâm, hacâ avadaša(h) kâram âyasatâ hyâparam[5] âiš patiš Artavrdiyam hamaranam cartanaiy. Prga(h)[6] nâma(n) kaufa(h), avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam Vahyazdâtahya aja(n) vasiy. Garmapadahya mâhyâ VI raucabiš ĉakatâ âha(h), avaĉâšâm hamaranam krtam, utâ avam Vahyazdâtam agrbâya(n), utâ martiyâ tyaišaiy fratamâ anušiyâ âha(n)tâ agrbâya(n).

8. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̔šâyaĉiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam avam Vahyazdâtam utâ martiyâ tyaišaiy fratamâ anušiyâ âha(n)tâ, (H)uvâdaicaya(h)[7] nâma(n) vardanam Pârsaiy, avadašiš uzmayâpatiy akunavam.

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[1] *duvitiya-*, numeral 'the second,' *duvitiyam* or mostly *patiy duvitiyam* 'a second time'; perhaps *duvitiya*, cp. Skr. *dvitîya*.

[2] *yadâ-*, sb. f., 'reverence'; sg. ablat. *kâra(h) hacâ yadâyâ(h) fratrta(h) âha(h)* 'the army was led astray from reverence'; from rt. *yad*, Aw. rt. *yaz* 'adore'; originally *yadâ* may have had the meaning 'worship,' as Mod.P. *namâz* originally meant 'worship' and then 'obedience.'

[3] *Artavardiya-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*; name of a commander of King Darius ('right working'; Aw. *ashaverezya* would be Old P. *Artavrdiya*).

[4] *Rak̔hâ-*, f., sg. nom. *-â*; name of a city near the border of Persia and Susiana (Ammian has Arakha).

[5] *hyâpara-*, adv., acc. *hyâparam*, from *hya*, and *apara*, 'after this,' 'afterwards,' 'again.'

[6] *Prga-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*. Name of a mountain in Persia; cp. the name of the city *Purg*, Arab. *Forj* in Lâristân.

[7] *Huvâdaicaya-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*; name of a city in Persia.

9. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Hauv Vahyazdâta(h), hya(h) Bardiya(h) agaubatâ, hauv kâram frâišaya(h) Hara(h)uvatim, Vivâna(h)[1] nâma(n) Pârsa(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h), Hara(h)uvatiyâ ǩšatrapâvâ, abiy avam, utâšâm I martiyam maťištam akunauš, avaťâšâm aťaha(h): Paraitâ, Vivânam jatâ, utâ avam kâram hya(h) Dârayavahauš ǩšâyaťiyahyâ gaubataiy Pasâva(h) hauv kâra(h) ašiyava(h) tyam Vahyazdâta(h) frâišaya(h) abiy Vivânam hamaranam cartanaiy; Kâpišakâniš[2] nâmâ didâ, avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h), hya manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja(n) vasiy. Anâmakahya mâhyâ XIII raucabiš ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâšâm hamaranam krtam.

10. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Patiy hyâparam hamitriyâ hagmatâ, paraitâ patiš Vivânam hamaranam cartanaiy. Ga(n)dutava(h)[3] nâmâ dahyâuš avadâ hamaranam akunava(n). A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) kâra(h) hya(h) manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyaṁ aja(n) vasiy. Viyaǩnahya mâhyâ VII raucabiš ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâšâm hamaranam krtam.

11. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Pasâva(h) hauv martiya(h), hya(h) avahyâ kârahyâ maťišta(h) âha(h), tyam Vahyazdâta(h) frâišaya(h) abiy Vivânam, hauv maťišta(h) hadâ kamnaibiš asabâribiš ašiyava(h). Aršâdâ[4] nâmâ didâ Hara(h)uvatiyâ avaparâ[5] atiyâiš. Pasâva(h) Vivâna(h) hadâ kârâ nipadiy tyaiy ašiyava(h), avadâšim agrbâya(h), utâ martiyâ tyaišaiy fratamâ anušiyâ âha(n)tâ avâja(n).

12. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Pasâva(h) dahyâuš manâ abavah); ima(h) tya(h) manâ krtam Hara(h)uvatiyâ.

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[1] *Vivâna-*, m. sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am;* name of a satrap in Arachosia (or perhaps *Virâhana*, cp. Aw. *Vîvâoṅhâô*).

[2] *Kâpishakâni-*, f., nom. sg. *-ish*. Name of a fortress in Arachosia.

[3] *Ga(n)dutava-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*; a district in Arachosia. Perhaps *Ga(n)dumava(h)*, according to Justi, 'land of wheat,' comp. Skr. *gôdhûma* 'wheat,' Mod. P. *gandum*, but Aw. *gantuma*, Nîrang, p. 39, l. 5 from below, Pahlv. gantum(?).

[4] *Arshâdâ-*, f., nom. sg. *-â ;* name of a fortress in Arachosia.

[5] *ava-*, demonstr. pron. 'that,' Aw. *ava*, Mod. Pers. *ô;* sing. acc. *avam*, gen. *avahyâ*, comp. *avahyarâdiy ;* plur. nom. acc. *avaiy*, gen. *avaishâm*, neutr. sg. acc. *ava(h)*, (Aw. *avaṭ*), *avaparâ* 'by, past that' ('he went past that').

13. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Yâtâ adam Pârsaiy utâ Mâdaiy âham, patiy duvitiyam Bâbiruviyâ hamitriyâ abava(n) hacâma(h). I martiya(h), Araǩa(h)[1] nâma(n) Arminiya(h), Halditahya[2] putra(h), hauv udapatatâ Bâbirauv. Dubâla[3] nâmâ dahyâuš hacâ avadaša(h) hauv udapatatâ, avaťâ adurujiya(h): Adam Nabukudracara(h) amiy, hya(h) Nabunaitahyâ putra(h). Pasâva(h) kâra(h) Bâbiruviya(h) hacâma(h) hamitriya(h) abava(h), abiy avam Araǩam ašiyava(h). Bâbirum hauv agrbâyatâ, hauv ǩšâyaťiya(h) abava(h) Bâbirauv.

14. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Pasâva(h) adam kâram frâišayam Bâbirum. Vi(n)dafarnâ[4] nâma(n) Mâda(h) manâ ba(n)daka(h), avam maťištam akunavam, avaťâšâm aťaham: Paraitâ, avam kâram tyam Bâbirauv jatâ, hya(h) manâ naiy gaubataiy. Pasâva(h) Vi(n)dafarnâ hadâ kârâ ašiyava(h) abiy Bâbirum. A(h)uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) Vi(n)dafarnâ Bâbirum agrbâya(h) . . . . *Margazanahya* mâhyâ XXII raucabiš ťakatâ âha(h), avaťâ avam *Araǩam hya(h) Nabukudracara(h) agaubatâ agrbâya(n), utâ martiyâ tyaišaiy fratamâ anušiyâ âha(n)tâ agrbâya(n)tâ, utâ bastâ abava(n). Pasâva(h) niyaštâyam Bâbirauv uzmayâpatiy âkriya(n)tâm.*

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[1] *Arakha-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*, acc. *-am*; name of an Armenian (Alarodian) rebel in Babylon.

[2] *Haldita-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyâ*; an Armenian.

[3] *Dubâla-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)*; name of a district in Babylonia (there is a place *Dubêla* on the Euphrates).

[4] *Vi(n)dafarnah-*, sg. nom. *-â* (cp. Aw. *Haosravâo*). Name of two men. (Aw. *Vindahvarena* 'obtaining majesty').

COLUMN IV.

1. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Ima(h) tya(h) manâ krtam Bâbirauv.

2. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam, vašnâ A(h)urmazdâha(h) âha(h) hamahyâyâ ťarda(h).[1] Pasâva(h) yaťâ ǩšâyaťiya(h) abavam, adam XIX hamaranâ akunavam, vašnâ A(h)urmazdâha(h) adamšâm ajanam, uta IX ǩšâyaťiyâ agrbâyam. I Gaumâta(h) nâma(n) Maguš âha(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avaťâ aťaha(h): Adam Bardiya(h) amiy, hya(h) Kurauš putra(h). Hauv Pârsam hamitriyam akunauš. I Atrina(h) nâma(n) (H)uvjiya(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avaťâ aťaha(h): Adam ǩšâyaťiya(h) amiy (H)uvjaiy. Hauv (H)uvjam hamitriyam akunauš manâ. I Nadi(n)tabaira(h) nâma(n), Bâbiruviya(h) hauv adurujiya(h) avaťâ aťaha(h) : Adam Nabukudracara(h) amiy hya(h) Nabunaitahya putra(h). Hauv Bâbirum hamitriyam akunauš. I Martiya(h) nâma(n) Pârsa(h) hauv adurujiya(h) avâťâ aťaha(h): Adam Imaniš[2] amiy (H)uvjaiy ǩšâyaťiya(h). Hauv (H)uvjam hamitriyam akunauš. I Fravartiš nâma(n) Mâda(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avaťa aťaha(h) : Adam Ǩšaťrita(h)[3] amiy, (H)uvaǩštrahya taumâyâ. Hauv Mâdam hamitriyam akunauš. I Citra(n)taǩma(h) nâma(n) Asagartiya(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avaťâ aťaha(h): Adam ǩšâyaťiya(h) amiy Asagartaiy, (H)uvaǩštrahya taumâyâ. Hauv Asagartam hamitriyam akunauš. I Frâda(h) nâma(n) Margava(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avaťâ aťaha(h) : Adam ǩšâyaťiya(h) amiy Margauv. Hauv Margum hamitriyam akunauš. I Vahyazdâta(h) nâma(n) Pârsa(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avaťâ aťaha(h): Adam Bardiya(h) amiy, hya(h) Kûrauš putra(h). Hauv Pârsam hamitriyam akunauš. I Araǩa(h) nâma(n) Arminiya(h), hauv adurujiya(h) avaťâ aťaha(h) : Adam Nabukudracara(h) amiy, hya(h) Nabunaitahya putra(h). Hauv Bârirum hamitriyam akunauš.

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[1] *thard-*, sb. f. 'kind, sort, manner'; sg. acc. *-am*, gen. *-a(h)*; *hamahyâyâ tharda(h)* 'of every kind'; Aw. *saredha* 'kind,' Pahlv. *sartak*, *i.e.*, *sardak* (a Median form).

[2] *Imani-*, m., nom. sg. *-ish*; name of a Susian rebel (the Susian form of the name is *Ummanish.)*

[3] *Khshathrita-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*; name of a Median king; abbreviation from *Khshathradâra-*, or the like, with the suffix *-ita*.

3. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyčiya(h): Imaiy IX ǩšâyačiyâ adam agrbâyam a(n)tar imâ hamaranâ.

4. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyatiya(h): Dahyâva(h) imâ tyâ hamitriyâ abava(n), draugadiš[1] hamitriyâ akunauš tya(h) imaiy kâram adurujiyaša(n). Pasâva(h) diš[2] A(h)uramazdâ manâ dastayâ[3] akunauš ; yačâ mâm kâma(h),[4] avačâ di[*š akunavam*].

5. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyačiya(h) : Tuvam kâ ǩšâyačiya(h) hya(h) aparam ahiy, hacâ draugâ(h) daršam patipaya(h)uvâ. Martiya(h) hya(h) draujana(h)[5] ahatiy avam (h)ufrastam prsâ, yadiy avačâ maniyâhy: Dahyâušmaiy duruvâ[6] ahatiy.

6. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyačiya(h): Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam, vašuâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) hamahyâyâ čarda(h) akunavam. Tuvam kâ hya(h) aparam, imâm dipim[7] patiprsâhy, tya(h) manâ krtam vrnavatâm[8] čuvâm ; mâtya(h) duruǩtam maniyâhy.

7. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyačiya(h) : A(h)uramaz . . . taiyiya yačâ ima(h) hašiyam[9] naiy duruǩtam adam akunavam hamahyâyâ čarda(h).

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[1] *drauga-*, sb. m., 'lie,' Aw. *draogha*, Mod. P. *durôgh* ; sg. nom. *-a(h)*, abl. *-â(h)*.

[2] *di-* enclitic pronoun 'he,' Aw. di- ; pl. acc. *-dish* in *tyâdish adinâ* 'which he took away from them,' *draugadish* 'the lie made them rebels,' *naiydish* 'not them,' *parikarâh(i)dish* 'thou mayest guard them,' *vikanâh(i)dish* 'thou mayest destroy,' *avathâdish akunavam* 'thus I did to them.'

[3] *dasta-*, sb. m. 'hand,' Aw. *zasta*, Mod. P. *dast*; loc. sg. *-ayâ: dish manâ d. akunaush* 'he made them in my hand.'

[4] *kâma-*, sb. m., nom. sg. *-a(h)* 'wish, desire'; Aw. *kâma*, Mod. P. *kâm*.

[5] *draujana-*, m., sg. nom. *-a(h)* 'liar.'

[6] *duruva-*, adj., nom. sg. f. *-â dahyâush* 'settled'; Aw. *drva*.

[7] *dipi-*, sb. f. 'inscription,' sg. acc. *-im*, loc. *-iyâ : ava(h) ahyâyâ dipiyâ naiy nipishtam* 'that has not been inscribed in this inscription.' Elemic word.

[8] *var* verb 'convince,' Aw. rt. *var* 'believe,' Mod. P. in *bâvar* 'belief,' *gîravîdan* 'to believe' ; pres. conj. *vrnavâtiy (naishim)* '*it* may not convince him,' (*i.e.* it may seem incredible to him) imperat. middle *vrnavatâm thuvâm tya(h) manâ krtam avathâ* 'it may convince thee of what has been done by me, thus (as I have narrated, it really has been').

[9] *hashiya-*, adj., 'true'; sg. nom. neutr. *-am*, Aw. *haithya*.

8. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h) . . . maiy aniyašciy vasiy astiy krtam, ava(h) ahyâyâ dipiyâ naiy nipištam.[1] Avahyarâdiy naiy nipištam mâtya(h) hya(h) aparam imâm dipim patiprsâtiy, avahyâ paruv ťadayâtiy,[2] tya(h) manâ krtam naišim vrnavâtaiy duruǩtam maniyâtiy.

9. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Tyaiy paruvâ ǩšâyaťiyâ yâtâ âha(n), avaišâm naiy astiy krtam yaťâ manâ, vašnâ A(h)uramazdâha(h), hamahyâyâ ťarda krtam.

10. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : . . . . . . nûram ťuvâm vrnavatâm, tya(h) manâ krtam, avaťâ avahyarâdiy mâ apagaudaya.[3] Yadiy imâm ha(n)dugâm[4] naiy apagaudayâhy, kârahyâ ťâhy: A(h)uramazdâ ťuvâm dauštâ[5] biyâ(h), utâtaiy taumâ vasiy biyâ(h), utâ drgam[6] jivâ[7].

11. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Yadiy imâm ha(n)dugâm apagaudayâhy, naiy ťâhy kârahyâ : A(h)urmazdâtaiy jatâ biyâ(h), utâtaiy taumâ mâ biyâ(h).

12. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Ima(h) tya(h) adam akunavam, hamahyâyâ ťarda(h), vašnâ A(h)urmazdâha(h) akunavam; A(h)urmazdâmaiy upastâm abara(h), utâ aniyâ bagâha(h)[8] tyaiy ha(n)tiy.

13. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Avahyarâdiy A(h)urmazdâ upastâm abara(h) utâ aniyâ bagâha(h) tyaiy ha(n)tiy ; yaťâ naiy araika(h)

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[1] *pis* verb, with *niy* 'write,' Mod. P. *nu-vêsam, ni-vishtan* (Aw. from the same root *añku-paesemnâo*); imperf. *niyapisham* 'I wrote, have written,' part. pret. *ni-pishtam avahyâ dipiyâ* 'written in this inscription.—*aparam* adverb 'afterward,' Aw. *aparem.*

[2] *thad* verb 'appear,' with gen. of the person ; pres. conj. *thadayâtiy avahyâ paruv* 'lest it may appear to him much' (*i. e,* too much) ; Aw. rt. *sad,* Pahlv. *sahastan* 'think.'[2]

[3] *gud* verb 'hide,' Aw. rt. *guz ;* with *apa* 'hide,' pres. conj. *apagaudayâhy* '(if) thou mayest hide' as imperative *mâ apagaudaya* 'do not hide.'

[4] *ha(n)dugâ-* sb. f., sg. acc. *-âm,* 'edict.'

[5] *daushtar-*, sb. m. 'friend,' Mod.P. *dôstâr ;* sg. nom. *-â : A(h)uramazdâ thuvâm d. biyâ(h)* 'A. may be friend to thee,' *avaiy mâ d. biyâ(h)* 'to him be not a friend.'

[6] *drga-*, adj. 'long,' Aw. *daregha,* Mod.P. *dêr* (from transposed *dagra, dayra*); neutr.acc. *-am* adverb 'long time' (thou mayest live).

[7] *jîv* verb 'live,' Aw. rt. *jîv,* Pahlv. *zîvastan,* Mod. P. *zîstan,* Pres. conj. *jîvâhy* '(as long as) thou mayest live,' *jîvâ dargam* 'thou mayest live long,' (cp. Aw. 2 sg. conj. *barâhi* near *payâo*).

[8] *baga-*, sb. m. 'god,' Aw. *bagha,* Mod. P. *Bagh-dâd* ; pl. nom. *-âha(h)* (Aw. comp. *aspâoñhô*), instr. *-aibish.*

âham, naiy draujana(h) âham, naiy zurakara(h)[1] âham naiy adam naimaiy taumâ. Upariy âbaštâm[2] upariyâyam naiy šakaurim[*] ..... huvatam zura(h)[3] akunavam. Martiya(h) hya(h) hamatakšatâ[4] manâ viťiyâ, avam (h)ubrtam abaram, hya(h) . . . . . . avam (h)ufrastam aprsam.

14. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Tuvam kâ ǩšâyaťiya(h) hya(h) aparam ahy, martiya(h) hya(h) draujana(h) ahatiy, hyavâ zûrakara(h) ahatiy, avaiy mâ dauštâ, avaiy ahifraštâdiy[5] prsâ.

15. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Tuvam kâ hya(h) aparam imâm dipim vainâhy, tyâm adam niyapišam, imaivâ patikarâ[6] mâtya[7] vikanâhy, yâvâ[8] jivâhy avâ avaiy parikarâ.[9]

16. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Yadiy imâm dipim vainâhy, imaivâ patikarâ, naiydiš vikanâhy utâmaiy yâvâ taumâ ahatiy parikarâh(i)diš, A(h)uramazdâ ťuvâm dauštâ biyâ(h), utâtaiy taumâ vasiy biyâ(h), utâ dargam jivâ, utâ tya(h) kunavâhy A(h)urmazdâ . . . . . . kunautuv.

17. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h): Yadiy imâm dipim imaivâ patikarâ vainâhy, vikanâh(i)diš, utâmaiy yâvâ taumâ ahatiy naiydiš parikarâhy, A(h)uramazdâtaiy jatâ biyâ(h), utâtaiy taumâ mâ biyâ(h), utâ tya(h) kunavâhy, avataiy A(h)uramazdâ nika(n)tuv.

18. Ťâtiy Dârayava(h)uš ǩšâyaťiya(h) : Imaiy martiyâ tyaiy adakay avadâ âha(n)tâ yâtâ adam Gaumâtam, tyam Magum, avâjanam, hya(h)

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[1] *zûrakara-* adj. 'wrong-doer,' sg. nom. *-a(h) naiy âham* 'I was no wrong-doer' (Mod. P. *zûrgar*).

[2] *âbashtâ-*, sb. f., 'law' (by no means the Awesta); acc. sg. *-âm*.

[*] *shakaurim*, unknown word.

[3] *zûrah-*, sb. n., sg. acc. *-a(h)* 'wrong, injustice,' Aw. *zurô-jata*, Mod. Pers. *zûr*; *zura(h) akunavam* 'I did (not) wrong.'

[4] *takhsh* verb, Aw. rt. *thwakhsh* 'be active,' Mod. P. *tukhshâ* 'energetical'; with *(h)am* 'endeavour,' 'be active,' imperf. middle *ham-atakhshaiy* 'I endeavoured,' *ham-atakhshatâ manâ vithiyâ* 'he was active on the side of my family,' *ham-atakhsha(n)tâ* 'they were active as my followers.'

[5] *ahifrashti-*, sb. f., loc. sg. *-âdiy*, *i.e.*, *ahifrashtâ adiy* lit. 'sword-questioning,' *i.e.* 'punishment with the sword'; *avaiy ahifrashtâdiy prsâ* 'punish them with capital punishment.'

[6] *patikara-*, sb. m., pl. acc. *-â* 'picture'; Mod. P. *paikar*.

[7] *man* verb 'think,' Aw. rt. *man*, Pahlv. *mênîtan*; pres. conj. *maniyâhy* (*yadiy arathâ*) 'if thus thou mayest think,' *mâtya(h) durukhtam maniyâhy* 'lest thou mayest think it false,' *durukhtam maniyâtiy* 'he may think it false.'

[8] *yâvâ* conj. 'as long as': *jivâhy* 'thou mayest live,' *taumâ ahatiy* 'as long as mankind exists.'

[9] See page 236, note 16.

Bardiya(h) agaubatâ. Adakaiy imaiy martiyâ hamatakša(n)tâ anušiyâ manâ: Vi(n)dafranâ nâma(n), Vayaspârahyâ[1] putra(h), Pârsa(h); (H)utâna(h) nâma(n), Ṫukrahyâ[2] putra(h) Pârsa(h); Gaubrûva(h)[3] nâma(n), Marduniyahyâ[4] putra(h), Pârsa(h); Vidarna(h) nâma(n), Bagâbignahyâ[5] putra(h), Pârsa(h); Bagabukša(h)[6] nâma(n), Dâduhyahyâ[7] putra(h), Pârsa(h); Ardumaniš[8] nâma(n), Vahukahyâ[9] putra(h), Pârsa(h).

19. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš kšâyaṫiya(h): Tuvam kâ kšâyaṫiya(h), hya aparam ahy, tyâmâ vidâm martiyâ . . tya(h) Dârayava(h)auš . . . . . . akunavam . . . . .

---

[1] *Vayaspâra-*, m. gen. sg. *-ahyâ;* name of a Persian.

[2] *Thukhra-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahyâ;* name of a Persian ('the red one,' Aw. *sukhra*, Mod. P. *surkh*).

[3] *Gaubrûva-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*, 'Gobryas' ('having the eyebrows of a bull').

[4] *Marduniya-*, sg. gen. *-ahyâ* 'Mardonios.'

[5] *Bagâbigna-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyâ;* name of a Persian (according to Justi 'having splendour from God').

[6] *Bagâbukhsha-*, m., nom. sg. *-a(h)*; one of the seven conspirators, 'Megabyzos' ('redeemed by God').

[7] *Dâduhya-*, m., gen. sg. *-ahyâ* one of the seven conspirators against the false Smerdis.

[8] *Ardumani-*, m., sg. nom. *-ish;* one of the seven who killed the false Smerdis ('of upright disposition').

[9] *Vahuka-*, m., sg. gen. *-ahyâ.* Name of a Persian (from *vahu* 'good').

COLUMN V.

1. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaťiya(h): Ima(h) *tya(h) adam* akunavam .... mâ ra .... ťardam .... ťâ k̇šâyaťiya(h) ... vajanam ...... *dah*yâuš hauv ha*câma(h) hamitriyâ* abava(h). *I martiya(h)* ... imaima(h) nâma(n) (H)uvjiyâ, *avam maťi*štam *akunava(n)*. Pasâva(h) adam kâ*ram frâiš*ayam *(H)uvjam. Mar*tiya(h) Gaubruva(h) nâma(n) *Pârsa(h), manâ* ba(n)daka(h), *avamšâm ma*ťištam akunavam. *Pasâva(h) hauv Ga*ubr*ûva(h) hadâ kâ*râ ašiyava(h) (H)uvjam, hamaranam akunauš hadâ hamitriyaibiš. Pasâva(h) ... utâšaiy marda .... utâ *avam* .. *imaimam agrbâya(h)* utâ anaya(h) abiy mâ*m* ... dahyâuš ... *âvaha*nam avadašim *avâjanam.*

2. Ṫâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaťiya(h): A ... utâ dah*yâum* A(h)uramazdâ *manâ dastayâ akunauš*; vašnâ A(h)uramaz*dâ*ha(h) yaťâ kâma(h) âha(h) *ava*ťâdiš akunavam.

3.* *Tâtiy Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaťiya(h):* Hya aparam imam ya .. hatiy, utâ jivahyâ ...

4. *Tâtiy* Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaťi*ya*(h): .... ašiyavam abiy Sakâm ... Tigrâm baratya ... iy abiy darayam avam .... â pisâ viyatara ... âjanam aniyam ag*rbâyam* ... abiy mâm utâ .... *Saku*(n)ka nâma(n), avam ag*rbâyam*... *a*vadâ aniyam ma*ťištam* ... âm âha, pasâva(h)da ...

5. *Tâity* Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyaťi*ya(h):* .... mâ naiy A(h)uramazdâm yadiy vašnâ A(h)urama*zdâha(h)* ... akunavam.

6. Ṫâťiy *Dârayava(h)uš k̇šâyatiya(h):* .. A(h)uramazdâm yadâtâ ... utâ jivahyâ, utâ ...

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* The rest of the inscription (§§ 3-6) is too much decayed to allow us to restore a running text.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 160, l. 16, *read :* 'Ανάδατος (*Anádatos*), *i.e.* 'Αμάρδατος.

„ l. 17, „ (*Amardatos*) *for* (*Amhrdatos*).

P. 161, l. 3, „ postulates *for* postulate.

„ l. 16, „ Geiger *for* Geîger.

P. 162, l. 12, „ but is still vivid enough as a figure.

P. 163, l. 1, „ or in the images that rise upon the Crest . . . .

„ l. 18, „ an agent *for* the agent.

„ N. 9, l. 2, *read : merezdātā.*

„ N. 10, l. 2, „ *Khshathrā.*

P. 164, l. 8, *read:* Khshathra Vairya, as an Amshaspand, has a special duty or charge.

P. 165, l. 4, *read:* 'But, perhaps, back of this association of *Khshathra* 'Kingdom' with *ayokhshusta* 'Molten Metal,' there is even something more.

P. 166, l. 13, *add:* or by eternal supremacy in the realm of Ormuzd.

P. 168, n. 1, l. 2, *read:* Wittenberg.

„ n. l. 5, „ *Astronomia philolaica.*

„ n. l. 8, „ Antwerp, 1703, II, p. 55.

P. 169, n. 3, *read* زیج and زیگ for ذیج and ذیگ.

P. 170, ll. 3, 16 and 17, *read :* Pharbardin (throughout);

„ n. 8, 11, *read* سنة

P. 171, l. 4, *read:* from the creation of the world.

P. 173, l. 10, *read:* was drawn up.

P. 174, l. 16, *read:* Antwerp *for* Paris;

P. 175, n. 24, l. 3, *add at the end:*—also my article, *Zu den byzantinischen Angaben ueber den altirânischen Kalender*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XI*, pp. 468-472.

P. 234, § 6, *read:* Dârayava(h)uš.

APPENDIX I.

THE OLD PERSIAN TEXT

OF THE

INSCRIPTIONS AT BEHISTĀN,

A Memorial of Darius Hystaspes.

COLUMN I.

1. [illegible] (ll. 1–3).

2. [illegible] † [illegible] (ll. 3–6).

3. [illegible]

† Omitted in the B. Inscriptions.

[illegible] (ll. 6—8).

4. [illegible] (ll. 9—11).

5. [illegible] (ll. 11—12).

6. [illegible]

[illegible] (ll. 13—17).

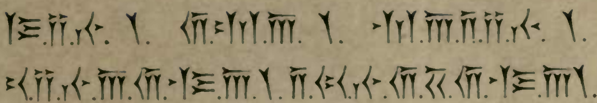
7. [illegible] (ll. 17—20).

8. [illegible] (ll. 20—24).

9. [illegible]

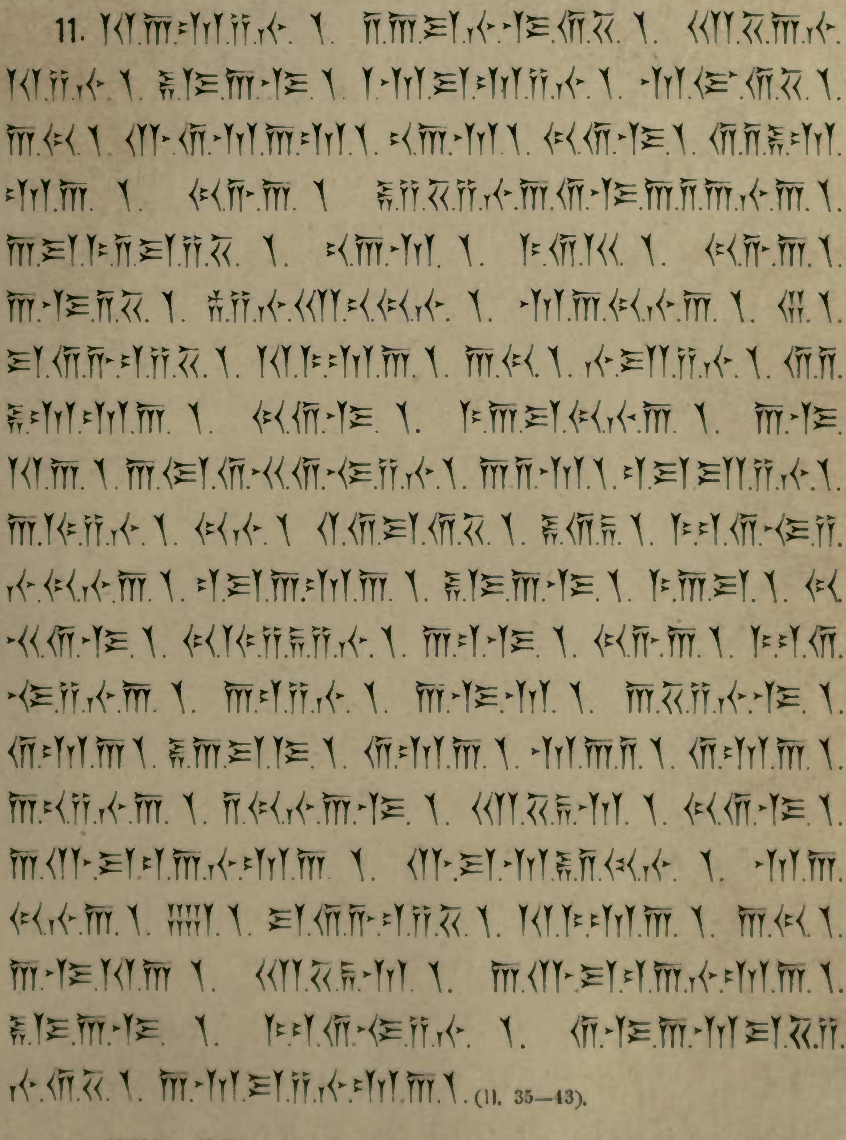
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] (ll. 24—26).

10. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] † [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]



(ll. 26—35).

11.



(ll. 35—43).

12.

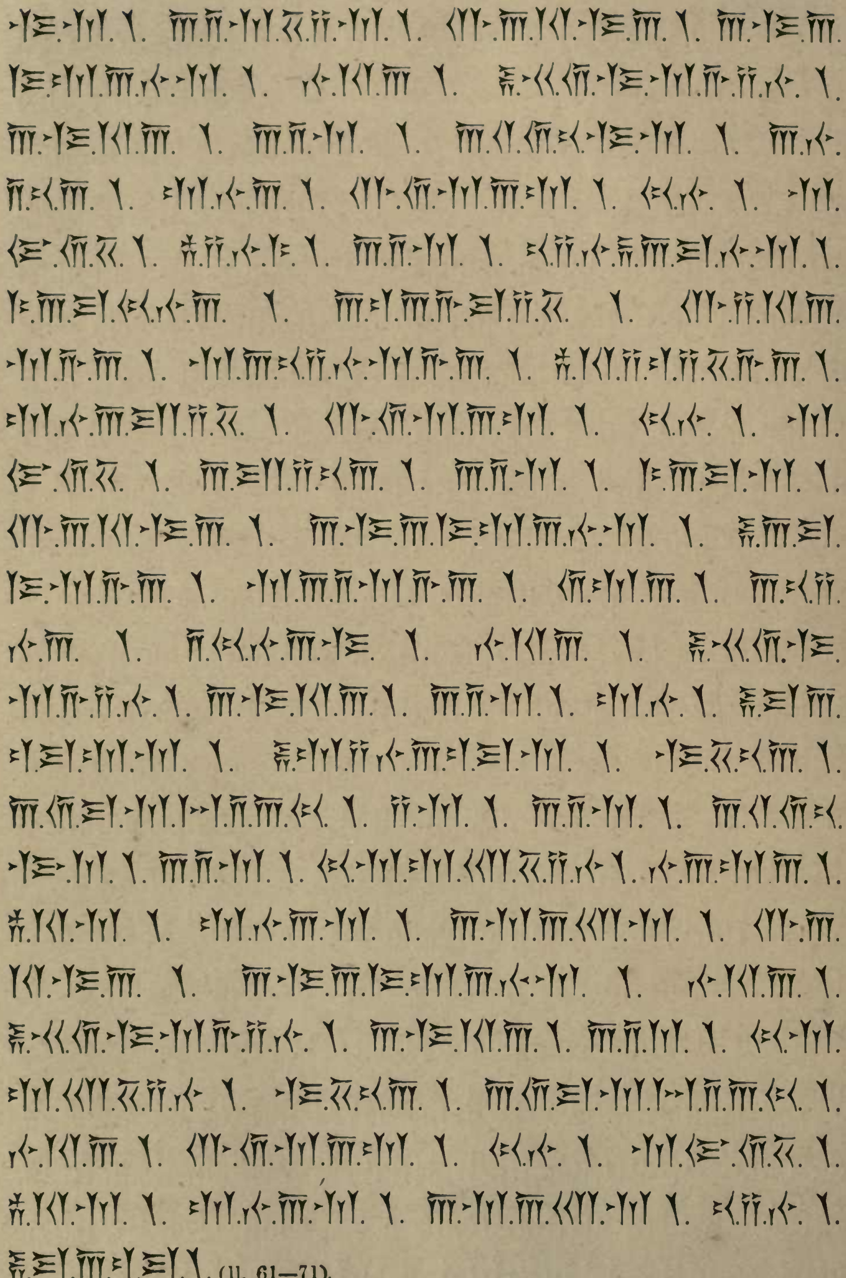


[illegible] (ll. 43–48).

13. [illegible]

[illegible] (ll. 48—61).

14 [illegible]



(ll. 61–71).

15. [illegible] (ll. 71—72).

16. [illegible] * [illegible]

* Words mutilated in the Old Persian text are here marked by asterisks.

[illegible] (ll. 72—81).

17. [illegible] (ll. 81—83).

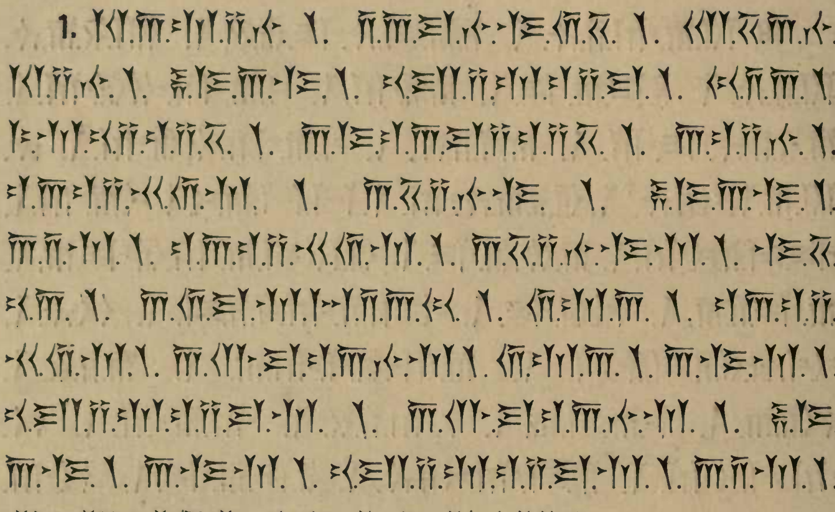
18. [illegible]

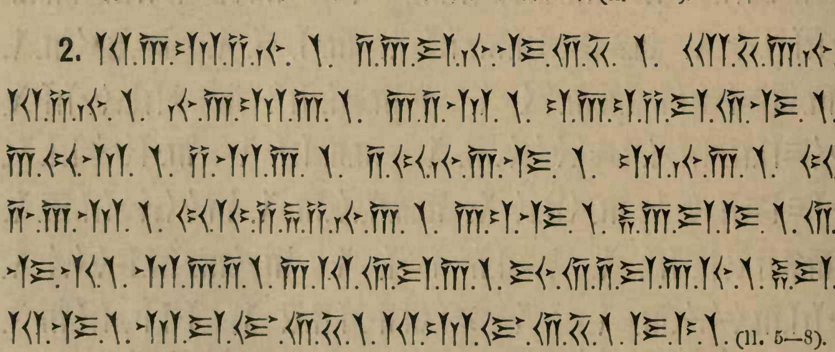
(ll. 83—90).

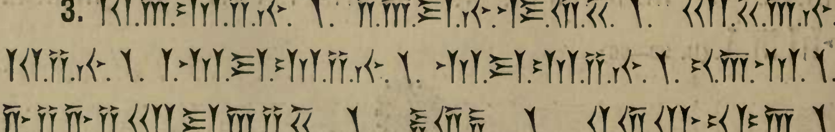
19.

(ll. 90—96).

COLUMN II.

1.  (ll. 1–5).

2.  (ll. 5–8).

3. 

𐎴𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎺𐎼𐎭𐎴𐎶 𐏐 𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎭𐎠 𐏐
𐎠𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹 𐏐 𐏃𐎢𐎺 𐏐 𐎢𐎭𐎱𐎫𐎫𐎠 𐏐 𐎢𐎺
𐎩𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎣𐎠𐎼𐏃𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎰𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎰𐏃 𐏐
𐎠𐎭𐎶 𐏐 𐎡𐎶𐎴𐎡𐏁 𐏐 𐎠𐎷𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎢𐎺𐎩𐎡𐎹 𐏐
𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 (ll. 8—11).

4. 𐎰𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎺𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹
𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎭𐎣𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎭𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐏁𐎴𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠
𐏃𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎲𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎢𐎺𐎩𐎶 𐏐 𐎱𐎿𐎠𐎺 𐏐 𐏃
𐎨𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎫𐎼𐎿 𐏐 𐎢𐎺𐎪𐎡𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎶 𐏐
𐎶𐎼𐎫𐎡𐎹𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎥𐎼𐎲𐎠𐎹 𐏐 𐏃𐎹𐏁𐎠𐎶 𐏐
𐎶𐎰𐎡𐏁𐎫 𐏐 𐎠𐏃 𐏐 𐎢𐎫𐎠𐏁𐎡𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎠
𐎩𐎴 𐏐 (ll. 11—13).

5. 𐎰𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎺𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹
𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐏑 𐎶𐎼𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎳𐎼𐎺𐎼𐎫𐎡𐏁 𐏐
𐎴𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎶𐎠𐎭 𐏐 𐏃𐎢𐎺 𐏐 𐎢𐎭𐎱𐎫𐎫𐎠 𐏐
𐎶𐎠𐎭𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎣𐎠𐎼𐏃𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎰𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎰𐏃 𐏐
𐎠𐎭𐎶 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎰𐎼𐎡𐎫 𐏐 𐎠𐎷𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎢𐎺
𐎧𐏁𐎫𐎼𐏃𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎫𐎢𐎶𐎠𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎱𐎿𐎠𐎺 𐏐
𐎣𐎠𐎼 𐏐 𐎶𐎠𐎭 𐏐 𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎻𐎰𐎠𐎱𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐏃 𐏐
𐏃𐎨𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐏃𐎷𐎡𐏂𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎲𐎺 𐏐 𐎠𐎲𐎡𐎹 𐏐
𐎠𐎺𐎶 𐏐 𐎳𐎼𐎺𐎼𐎫𐎡𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐏁𐎡𐎹𐎺 𐏐
𐏃𐎢𐎺 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎲𐎺 𐏐 𐎶𐎠
𐎭𐎡𐎹 𐏐 (ll. 13—17).

6. [illegible]

[illegible] (ll. 18—29).

7. [illegible]

[illegible] (ll. 29—37).

8. [illegible] (ll. 37—42).

9. [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] (ll. 42—49).

10. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] * [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[Old Persian cuneiform text] (ll. 49—57).

11. [Old Persian cuneiform text] (ll. 57—63).

12. [Old Persian cuneiform text]

[illegible] (ll. 64—70).

13. [illegible]

(ll. 70—78).

14.

[illegible] (ll. 78—91).

15. [illegible] (ll. 91—92).

16. [illegible]

(ll. 92—98).

COLUMN III.

1. [illegible] (ll. 1–9)

2. [illegible]

(ll. 9—10).

3. (ll. 10—19).

4. [illegible] (ll. 19—21).

5. [illegible] (ll. 21—28).

6. [illegible]

[illegible] (ll. 28—40).

7. [illegible]

[illegible] (ll. 40—49).

8. [illegible] (ll. 49—52).

9. [illegible] (ll. 52—63).

10. [illegible] (ll. 63—68).

11. [illegible]

[illegible] (ll. 68—74).

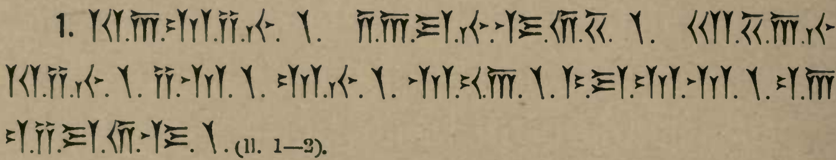
12. [illegible] (ll. 74—75).

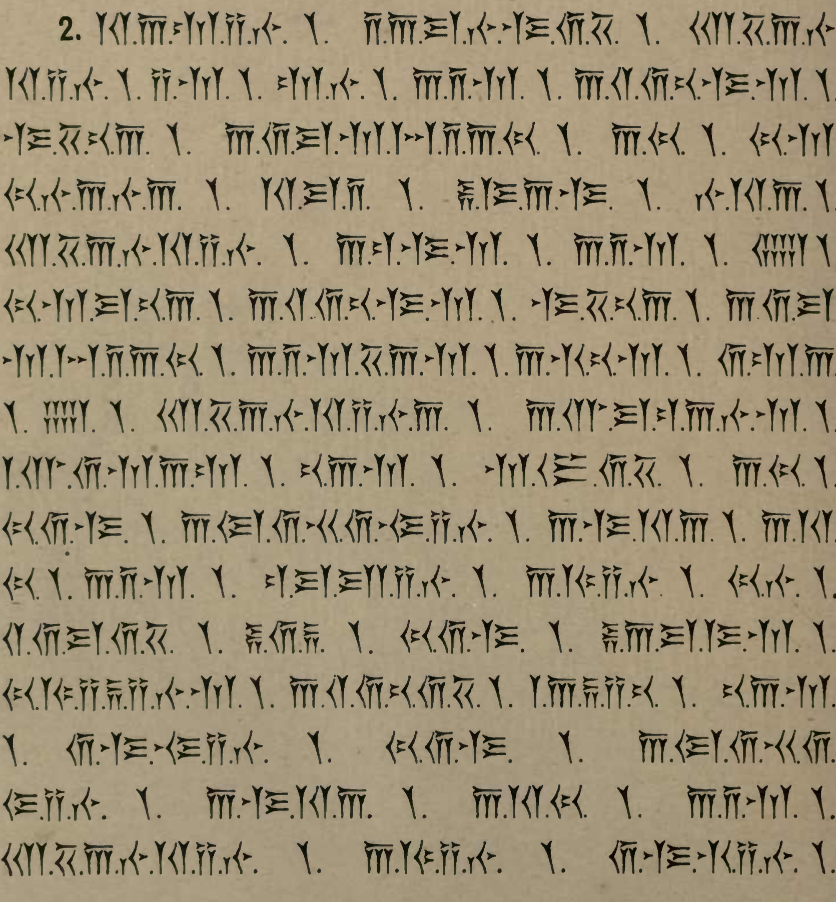
13. [illegible]

[illegible] (ll. 75—82).

14. [illegible] (ll. 82—91).

COLUMN IV.

1.  (ll. 1—2).

2. 

[illegible] (ll. 2—31).

3. [illegible] (ll. 31—32).

4. [illegible]

𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎤𐎢𐎴𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎹𐎰𐎠 𐏐 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎣𐎠
𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎰𐎠 𐏐 𐎮𐎡… 𐏐 (ll. 33—36).

5. 𐎰𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎺𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹
𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎬𐎢𐎺𐎶 𐏐 𐎣𐎠 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐
𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎱𐎼𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐏃𐎨𐎠 𐏐 𐎭𐎼𐎢
𐎥𐎠 𐏐 𐎭𐎼𐏁𐎶 𐏐 𐎱𐎫𐎡𐎱𐎹𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐏐 𐎶𐎼
𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎼𐎢𐎩𐎴 𐏐 𐎠𐏃𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠
𐎺𐎶 𐏐 𐎢𐎳𐎼𐎿𐎫𐎶 𐏐 𐎱𐎼𐎿𐎠 𐏐 𐎹𐎮𐎡𐎹 𐏐
𐎠𐎺𐎰𐎠 𐏐 𐎶𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐏃𐎹𐎠𐎢𐏁
𐎶𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎯𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎺𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐏃𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 (ll. 36—40).

6. 𐎰𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎺𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠
𐎹𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎡𐎶 𐏐 𐎫𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎭𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎤𐎢𐎴
𐎺𐎶 𐏐 𐎺𐏁𐎴𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎢𐎼𐎶𐏀𐎭𐎠𐏃 𐏐 𐏃
𐎶𐏃𐎹𐎠𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎰𐎼𐎭 𐏐 𐎠𐎤𐎢𐎴𐎺𐎶 𐏐
𐎬𐎢𐎺𐎶 𐏐 𐎣𐎠 𐏐 𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎱𐎼𐎶 𐏐 𐎡
𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎮𐎡𐎱𐎡𐎶 𐏐 𐎱𐎫𐎡𐎱𐎼𐎿𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐
𐎫𐎹 𐏐 𐎶𐎴𐎠 𐏐 𐎣𐎼𐎫𐎶 𐏐 𐎺𐎼𐎴𐎺
𐎫𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎰𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎶𐎠𐎫[𐎡]𐎹 𐏐 𐎯𐎢
𐎽𐎢𐎧𐎫𐎶 𐏐 𐎶𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐 (ll. 40—43).

7. 𐎰𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎺𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹
𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎢𐎼𐎶𐏀𐎭𐎠 𐏐 𐎫𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐏐
𐎹𐎰𐎠 𐏐 𐎡𐎶 𐏐 𐏃𐏁𐎡𐎹𐎶 𐏐 𐎴𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎯𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎧

[illegible]
[illegible] (ll. 43—45).

8. [illegible]
[illegible] ..... [illegible][1] [illegible]
[illegible][2] (ll. 45—50).

9. [illegible][3] [illegible]
[illegible] (ll. 50—52).

10. [illegible]
[illegible] .... [illegible]

---

[1] [illegible] suggested by Gray.

[2] Jackson *maniyātiy*.

[3] So Weissbach and Bang. Jackson reads *ādātā* (Av. *āzāta*) or *āmātā*.

(ll. 52—56).

11. (ll. 57—59).

12. (ll. 59—61).

13.

[illegible][1] [illegible] (ll. 61—67).

14. [illegible] (ll. 67—69).

15. [illegible]

[1] Jackson reads ..*huvatam*.

𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎹𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐏐 𐎪𐎡𐎺𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐏐 𐎠
𐎺𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎱𐎼𐎡𐎣𐎼𐎠 𐏐 (ll. 69—72).

16. 𐎰𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎺𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠
𐎹𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎹𐎮𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎡𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎮𐎡𐎱𐎡𐎶 𐏐
𐎺𐎡𐎴𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎡𐎶𐎡𐎺𐎠 𐏐 𐎱𐎫𐎡𐎣𐎼𐎠 𐏐
𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎮𐎡𐏁 𐏐 𐎻𐎡𐎿𐎠𐎴𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎢𐎫𐎠 𐏐 𐎶𐎡
𐎹 𐏐 𐎹𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐏐 𐎫𐎢𐎶𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐏃𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎱
𐎼𐎡𐎣𐎼𐎠𐏃𐎮𐎡𐏁 𐏐 𐎠𐎢𐎼𐎶𐏀𐎭𐎠 𐏐 𐎰𐎢
𐎺𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎭𐎢𐏁𐎫𐎠 𐏐 𐎲𐎡𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎢𐎫𐎠
𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎫𐎢𐎶𐎠 𐏐 𐎺𐎿𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎲𐎡𐎹𐎠 𐏐
𐎢𐎫𐎠 𐏐 𐎭𐎼𐎥𐎶 𐏐 𐎪𐎡𐎺𐎠 𐏐 𐎢𐎫𐎠 𐏐
𐎫𐎹 𐏐 𐎤𐎢𐎴𐎺𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎢𐎼
𐎶𐏀𐎭𐎠 𐏐 .... 𐏐 𐎤𐎢𐎴𐎢𐎬𐎢𐎺 𐏐 (ll. 72—76).

17. 𐎰𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎺𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠
𐎹𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎹𐎮𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎡𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎮𐎡𐎱𐎡𐎶 𐏐
𐎡𐎶𐎡𐎺𐎠 𐏐 𐎱𐎫𐎡𐎣𐎼𐎠 𐏐 𐎺𐎡𐎴𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎻𐎡
𐎿𐎴𐎠𐏃[𐎡]𐎮𐎡𐏁 𐏐 𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎶𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎹𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐏐
𐎫𐎢𐎶𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐏃𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎮𐎡𐏁 𐏐 𐎱𐎼𐎡
𐎣𐎼𐎠𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎢𐎼𐎶𐏀𐎭𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎩
𐎫𐎠 𐏐 𐎲𐎡𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎫𐎢𐎶𐎠 𐏐
𐎶𐎠 𐏐 𐎲𐎡𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎢𐎫𐎠 𐏐 𐎫𐎹 𐏐 𐎤𐎢𐎴𐎺𐎠
𐏃𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎢𐎼𐎶𐏀𐎭𐎠 𐏐 𐎴𐎡𐎣
𐎬𐎢𐎺 𐏐 (ll. 76—80).

18. [illegible] (ll. 80—86).

19. [illegible] .... [illegible] (ll. 86—89).

COLUMN V.

1. 𐎰𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎺𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹
𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎡𐎶 𐏐 𐎫𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎭𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎤𐎢𐎴𐎺
𐎶 𐏐 ... 𐎶𐎠 𐏐 𐎼 ... 𐏐 𐎰𐎼𐎭𐎶 ... 𐎰𐎠 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹
𐎰𐎡𐎹 𐏐 ... 𐎺𐎩𐎴𐎶 ... 𐏐 𐎭𐏃𐎹𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐏃𐎢𐎺 𐏐
𐏃𐎯𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐏃𐎷𐎡𐏂𐎡𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎲𐎺 𐏐 𐏑 𐎶𐎼
𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 ... 𐎡𐎶𐎡𐎶 𐏐 𐎴𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎢𐎺𐎪𐎡
𐎹𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎶 𐏐 𐎶𐎰𐎡𐏁𐎫𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎤𐎢𐎴𐎺 𐏐
𐎱𐎿𐎠𐎺 𐏐 𐎠𐎭𐎶 𐏐 𐎣𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐏐 𐎳𐎼𐎠𐎡𐏁
𐎹𐎶 𐏐 𐎢𐎺𐎩𐎶 𐏐 𐏑 𐎶𐎼𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎥𐎢𐎲𐎽𐎢
𐎺 𐏐 𐎴𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿 𐏐 𐎶𐎴𐎠 𐏐 𐎲𐎭𐎣 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎶
𐏁𐎠𐎶 𐏐 𐎶𐎰𐎡𐏁𐎫𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎤𐎢𐎴𐎺𐎶 𐏐 𐎱𐎿𐎠
𐎺 𐏐 𐏃𐎢𐎺 𐏐 𐎥𐎢𐎲𐎽𐎢𐎺 𐏐 𐏃𐎭𐎠 𐏐 𐎣𐎠
𐎼𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐏁𐎡𐎹𐎺 𐏐 𐎢𐎺𐎩𐎶 𐏐 𐏃𐎶𐎼𐎴𐎶 𐏐
𐎠𐎤𐎢𐎴𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐏃𐎭𐎠 𐏐 𐏃𐎷𐎡𐏂𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎲𐎡𐏁 𐏐 𐎱
𐎿𐎠𐎺 𐏐 .... 𐎢𐎫𐎠𐏁𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎶𐎼𐎭 𐏐 𐎢𐎫𐎠 ... 𐏐
𐎠𐎥𐎼𐎲𐎠𐎹 𐏐 𐎢𐎫𐎠 𐏐 𐎠𐎴𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎠𐎲𐎡𐎹 𐏐
𐎶𐎠𐎶 .... 𐏐 𐎭𐏃𐎹𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐏐 ... 𐎠𐎺𐏃𐎴𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎺
𐎭𐏁𐎡𐎶 𐏐 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎩𐎴𐎶 𐏐 (ll. 1—15).

2. 𐎰𐎠𐎫𐎡𐎹 𐏐 𐎭𐎠𐎼𐎹𐎺𐎢𐏁 𐏐 𐎧𐏁𐎠𐎹

[illegible] (ll. 15—18).

3. [illegible] (ll. 19—21).

4. [illegible] (ll. 21—31).

5. [illegible] (ll. 31—34).

6. [illegible] (ll. 34—36).

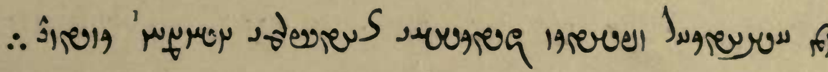
AN ADMIRER.

APPENDIX II.

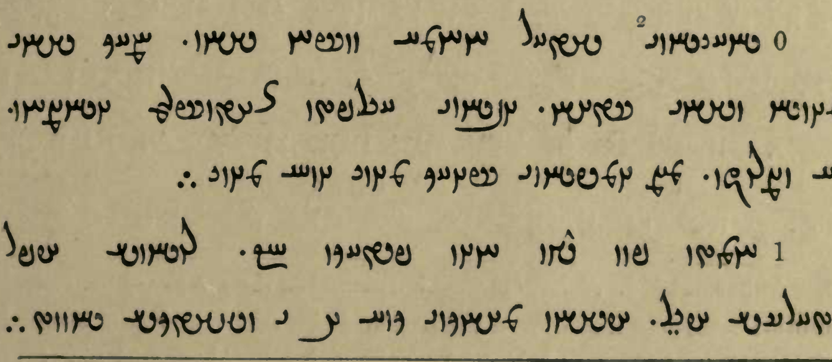
FIRST SERIES

OF THE

SELECTIONS OF ZÂD-SPARAM.



CHAPTER I.



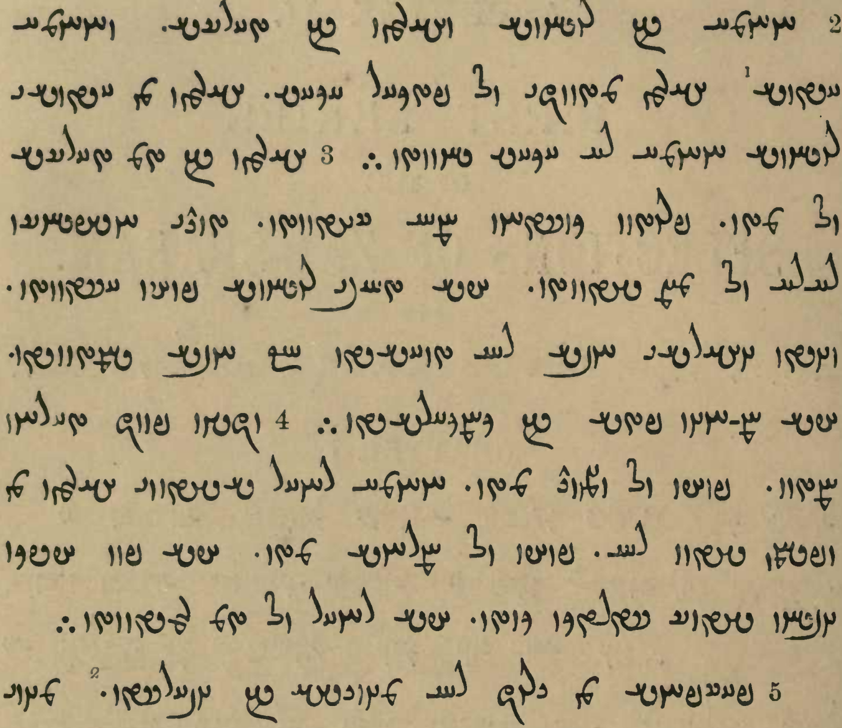
Den*á* aîyyâ*d*kâr nipishtako *C*î*d*akîhâ-î Zâ*d*-s*p*aram-î Yû*b*ân-Yimân[1] Ka*r*îtund.

CHAPTER I.

0. Shnâyishno-î dâ*d*âr Aûha*r*ma*zd* va-vis*p*ân Ya*zd*âno, hamâk Ya*zd*ân-î maînôgân va-Ya*zd*ân-î stihân, gôbishno-î aêrpato Zâ*d*o-s*p*aram-i Yû*b*ân-Yimâno, a*e*-î nîmrôjô, madam gûm*é*zishno-î s*p*ênâk maînôg gônâg maînôg.

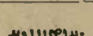
1. Hav*á*to pavan dênô ângûn pê*d*âko aêgh: Rôshanôîh *a*j*v*ar va-târîgîh *a*zîr, *a*fshâno mîyânako-î kol*â* 2 ê vishâ*d*akîh yehvûnt.

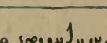
[1] Perhaps for [Pahlavi] nûsînômân. [2] K. omits [Pahlavi]

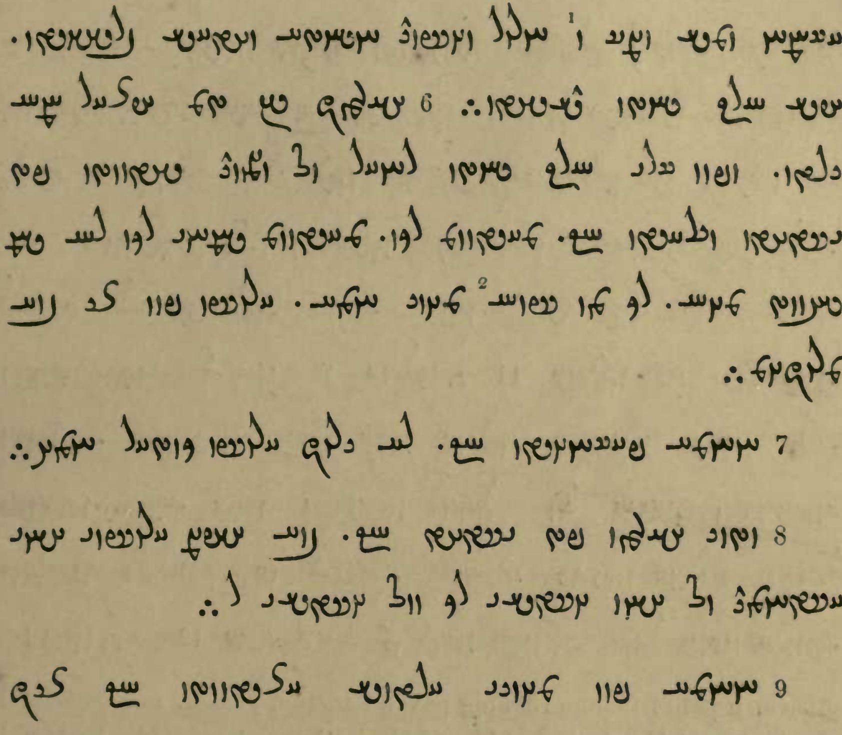


2. Aûharmazd bên rôshanôîh va-Aharmanô bên târîgih; va-Aûharmazd aîtoîh-i Aharman madano-c-î val patkâr âkâs, Aharmanô min aîtoîh-î rôshanoîh-i Aûharmazd lâ âkâs yehvûntô. 3. Aharmanô bên tom târîgîh val mado, frô-tano kûstâno hamâî sagîtûntô, tanê-î andâzîshnîgo lâlâ val madam yâtûntô, afash tâî-1-î rôshanôîh frâzo khaditûntô; va-gvîdo-gôhârîh-î aûbash râî tûkhshîdo aêgh aûbash yehamtûnêdo, afash ham-ângûno padash bên kâmkârî-aîto. 4. Va-cîgûno pavan-ic târâno ham-tano, frâzo val vîmônd mado, Aûharmazd lakhvâr dâshtano-î Aharmanô min nafshâ shatrô râî, frâzo val ham-rânîh mado, afash pavan avêzako gôbishno-i yâtûîg stardako kardo, afash lakhvâr val tom ramîtûntô.

5. Pâspânîh min drûj râî, maînôgîhâ bên dûbârasto, maînô-î

[1] The MSS. have .

[2] The MSS. have .



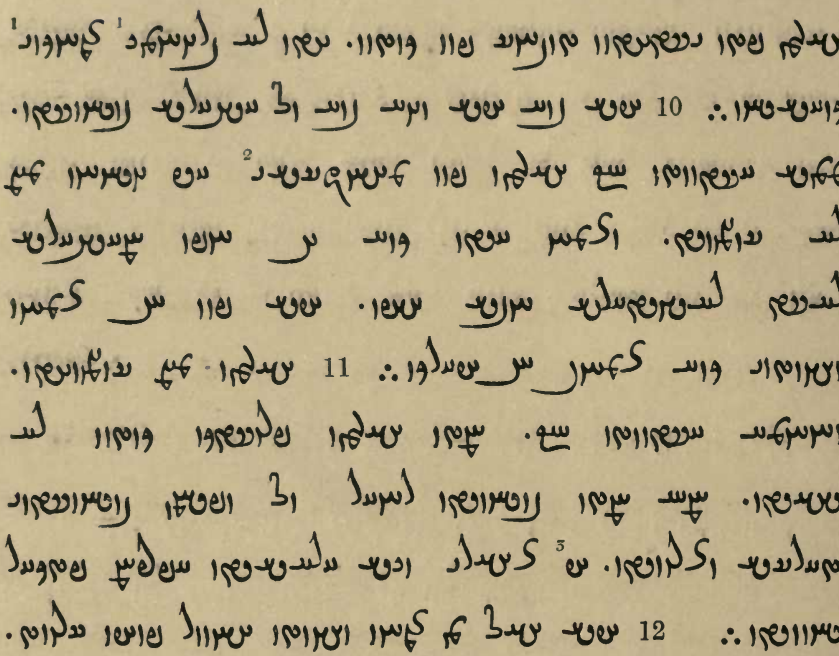
âsâmân va-mayâ, va-zamîg, va-aûrvar, va-gos*p*end, va-anshûtâ, va-âtakhsh brêhinî*do*, *a*fash 3,000 shnato dâshto. 6. Aharman-ic *b*ên tom *a*fzâr hamâî gir*do*; va-pavan sar-î 3,000 shnato lakhvâr va*l* vîmônd yâtûntô, pat-îstâ*do*, va-drâî*do* aêgh: "Makhîtûnam lako, makhîtûnam dâmân-î lako râî shem yehabûnt mînîh, lak mûn S*p*enâg Maînôg havâih, harvis*p*ô pavan zag bar*â* merencînam."

7. Aûha*r*ma*zd* pâsukhôînî*do* aêgh: "Lâ, drûj! harvis*p*ô ka*rd*âr havâih."

8. Va-tanê Aharmanô pat-îstâ*d* aêgh: "Bar*â* hâcêm harvis*p*ô-î ahû-î ast-aûmand va*l* akha*r*an-dôstîh-î lak, va-va*l* dôstîh-î li."

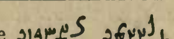
9. Aûha*r*ma*zd* pavan maînôg-î khir*d*oîh khazîtûntô aêgh, zag-ico

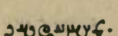
[1] The MSS. again insert [Pahlavi word].
[2] K. [Pahlavi word].



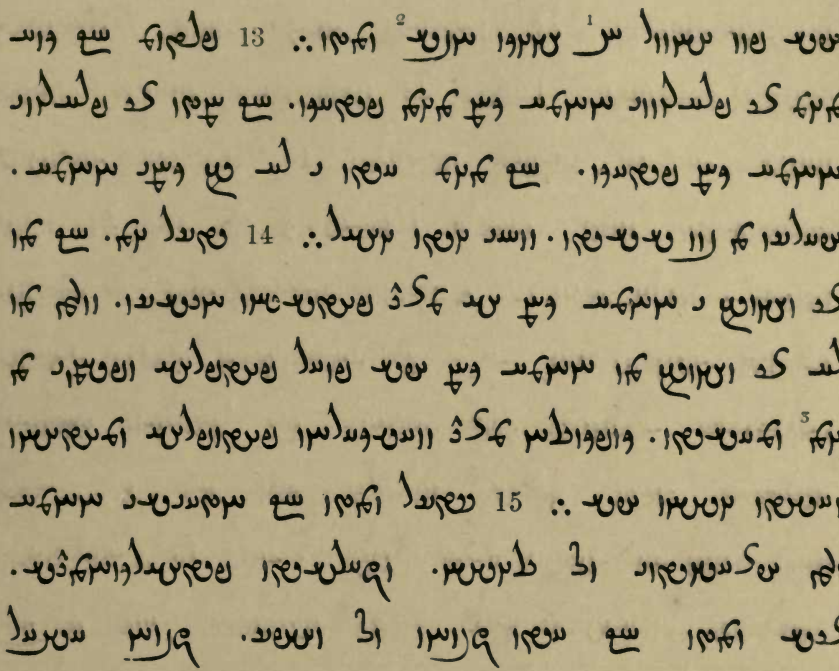
Aharman pato-îstâ*d*ano tûbânîg pavan ka*rd*ano, yê*do* lâ burîn-aûmand zamânako-î kûkhshishno. 10. *A*fash ba*r*â *a*jash vidanâ ba*r*â va*l* aîyyârîh bavîhûnasto, m*d*sh khadîtûntô aêgh Aharmanô pavan mîyânjîgîh-î aêc gûshanân madam lâ yegavîmûnê*d*, va-zamân aîto ko*l*â 2 khûpo ham-aîyyârîh râst râyînî*d*ârîh aûbash *a*yâ*v*o; *a*fash pavan 3 zamâno va*b*îdûntô-î ko*l*â zamân-1 3 h*az*ârako. 11. Aharmanô madam yegavîmûnâ*do*, va-Aûba*r*ma*zd* khadîtûntô aêgh, amato Aharmanô frôstako ka*rd*ano lâ shâye*do*, hamâî amato bavîhûnê*do* lakhvâr va*l* nafsh*â* bavîhûnastô-î târîgîh vazlûnê*do*, *ac*[3] zâhar-î vêsh ârâî aîto afar'jâm patkâr yehvûnê*do*.

12. *A*fash akha*r* min zamâno va*b*îdûntô Ahûnavar f*râzo* de*b*run*d*,

[1] The MSS. have , but burîn-aûmand zamânako-î, "appointed time of," is a more probable reading.

[2] The MSS. have .

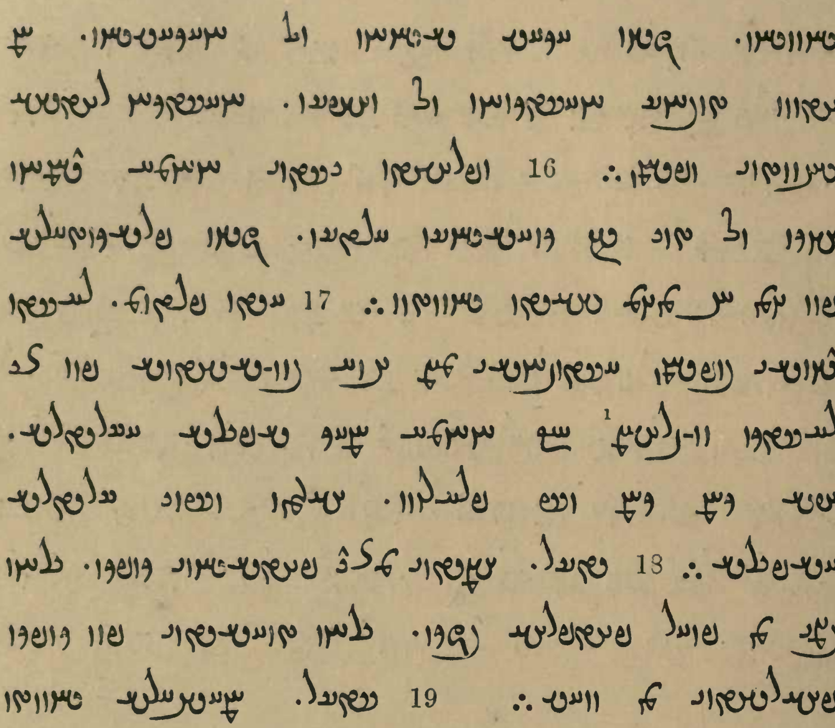
[3] May be *ac*, "also, moreover," or *Âz*, "the serpent demon of Greed" (compare § 26) or, possibly, *a*j, "from"; but this last is rarely found, except in compounds.



*a*fash pavan Ahûnavar 3 âyûînako khûbîh numû*d*o :—13. Fratûm aêgh kolâ mindavam zag frârûno-î Aûha*r*ma*zd* kâm mindavam pê*d*âko, aêgh amato zag frârûn-î Aûha*r*ma*zd*, kâm pê*d*âko, aêgh mindavam aîto-î lâ *b*ên kâm-î Aûha*r*ma*zd*, *â*zârîgo min bûn dahî-aîto, vinâg-î gvî*d*o gôhâr. 14. Da*d*îgar den*â*, aêgh mûn zag va*b*îdûnyên-î Aûha*r*ma*zd* kâm *a*sh mozd pâ*d*adahishno khvêshîgo, va-val*â* mûn lâ zag va*b*îdûnyen mûn Aûha*r*ma*zd* kâm *a*jash pûhar pâ*d*afrâh nafsh*d*-î min den*â* numâî-aîto ; ki*r*fakogarân mozd vinâskârâno pâ*d*ofrâh va-mâ*d*î-gâno-i vahishtô dûshahvô *a*jash. 15. Sa*d*îgar numû*d*o aêgh khû*d*âyîh-î Aûha*r*ma*zd* val*d* *a*fzâyînê*d*o-î va*l* daregûshân, vijârî-aîto paîtîyârako-aûmandih zyash numû*d*o aêgh aîto *c*abunâno va*l* nîyâzîg *c*abunân aîyyâr

[1] The MSS. have ۳·　　　[2] Possibly aûbash.

[3] The MSS. have hûman, "well-meditating."



yehvûnishno ; *c*îgûn âkâs dahishnâno va*l* anâkâsagâno, ham-ae*d*ûno tûbânîg khvâstako-âno va*l* nîy*d*zîgo, khvâstakân râ*d*îhâ yehabûntô-î nafsh*â*. 16. Va-farhakhto dasto-î Aûha*r*maz*d* dâmâno aêvako va*l* tanê *b*ên kôkhshishnîgo âr*d*îgo, *c*îgûn frashaka*rd*ârîh pavan den*â* 3 mindavam shâye*d*o yehvûntano. 17. Aîto fratûm râsto-dênôîh-î benafsh*â*, astûbânîh-î madam gab*r*â bûn-dâshtoîh pavan zag râstako naû-barhâm,[1] aêgh Aûha*r*maz*d* hamâk shapîrîh asarîtarîh, *a*fash kâm kâm-i vis*p*-frârûno ; Aharmanô vis*p*ô-î sarîtarîh ashapîrîh. 18. Da*d*îgar, aêmê*d*o-î mozd pâ*d*adahishno-î ki*r*fako, girâno bîm-î min pûhar pâ*d*afrâh-i bajako, girâno tûkhshî*d*an-î pavan ki*r*fako, pâhrêkhtan-î min vinâs. 19. Sa*d*îgar, ham-aîyyârîh yehvûntan-i

[1] Naû-barhâm, "good news, or glad tidings"; compare Pers. naû barhân and naû rahân.

[illegible][1] [illegible]
[illegible]
20 [illegible][2]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 21 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
22 [illegible]
[illegible][5] [illegible][4] [illegible] 23 [illegible]

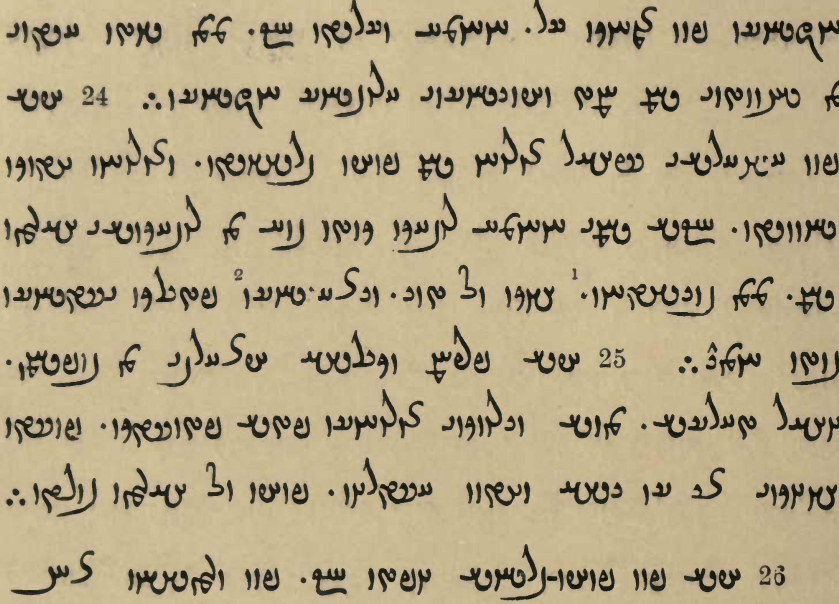
dâmân, ayôv*o* levat*á*g va-min ham-aîyyârîh ham-s*i*pâhîh; s*i*pâhîh pîrûzîh-î madam dûshmanô yehvûnê*d*o-î nafsh*á* frashaka*rd*o.

20. Pavan den*á* gôbishno star*d*o yehvûntô lakhvâr va*l* tom aûf-dî*d*o; Aûha*r*ma*z*d dâm tano-aûmandîhâ ba*r*â va*l* stîsh yehabûntô; fratûm âsâmân, va-da*d*îgar mayâ, sa*d*îgar zamîgo, 4-ûm aûrvar, va-5-ûm gôs*p*end, 6-ûm anshûtâ. 21. Âtakhsh *b*ên vis*p*ô yehvûntô, pargandago kâdmôn pavan 6 gôhârako-î ko*l*â gôhârak-aê darvand-î pavan madam yehabûntô and bû*d*o; gûfto yegavîmûnê*d*o, *c*and mîzo-aê-î amat aêvako pavan tanê frô*d*o hankhetûnd.

22. 3,000 shnato dâm tano-aûmand va-an*á*f-raftâr yehvûntô; khûrshê*d*o va-mâh starâno yegavîmûnâ*d*o hav*á*d. 23. *B*ên dûbâristan-î

[1] Levat*á*g, "accompanying."

[2] MSS. [illegible]. [3] MSS. [illegible]. [4] MSS. [illegible].



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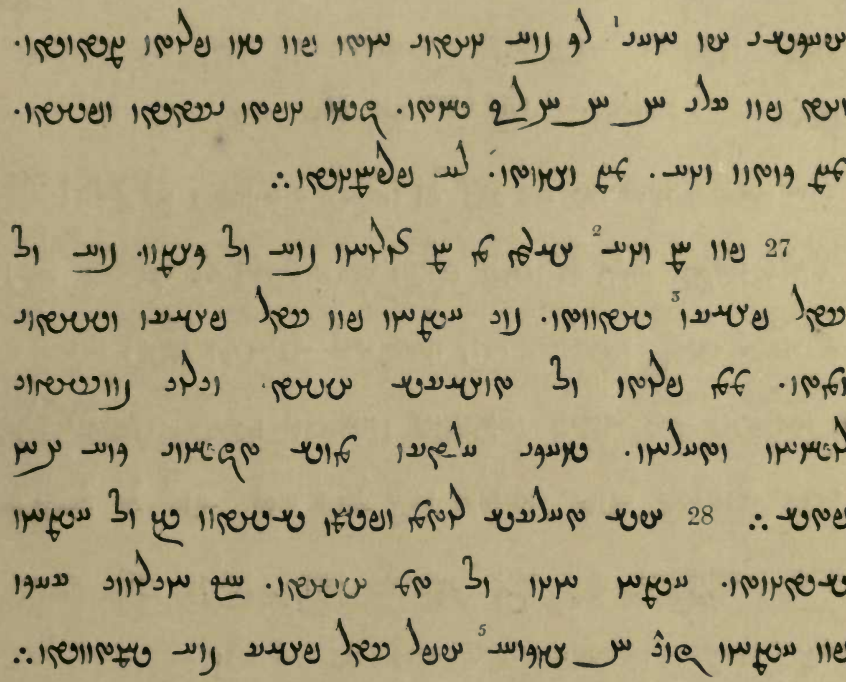
hanjishnîgo pavan zamânako sar, Aûha*r*ma*zd* nigîrî*d*o aêgh: "M*â* sû*d*o aîto-î min yehabûntan-î dâm amato *a*pôîshnîgo-î arûbishnîg hanjishnîgo?" 24. *A*fash pavan aîyyârîh-î s*p*ihâr Zôrvân dâm f*râ*zo brêhînî*d*o; va-Zôrvâno atanko yehvûnê*d*o, aêghash dâm-î Aûha*r*ma*zd* rûbâko ka*r*do ba*r*â min rûbâkoîh-î Aharmanô dâm, m*â* bun-gashtâno[1], aêvako va*l* tanê, vîzâyishnîgo[2] pa*d*îrako îstishnîgo bû*d*o hav*â*d. 25. *A*fash far'jâm-nikîrîhâ *a*fzâr-1-î min benafsh*â* gôhâr-i târîgîh, mûnash vîrûnako-î Zôrvânîgo pa*d*ash pa*d*vastako, pôsto âyûînako-î zag dago sîyah va-âtû*r*-astar-gûn, f*râ*zo va*l* Aharmanô bû*r*do.

26. *A*fash pavan f*râ*zo-burishnîh gûfto aêgh: "Pavan val*â*shâno zâê

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[1] "Original evolutions," meaning Aûha*r*ma*zd* and Aharmanô, see S. B. E. Vol. XXIV., pp. 5, 135, 146, 234.

[2] "Detrimental"; compare Pers. gazây.



av*r*âkîh-î Âzo, hanâ-î lak bar*â* dûkhto-î khû*d*o, pavan dênô frô*d*o yemîtunê*d*o; va-yê*d* pavan sar-î 9000 shnato, *c*îgûn gûfto îstê*d*o nipishto, madam kar*d*ano vidanâ, madam va*b*îdûntô, lâ far'jâmînî*d*o.

27. Pavan ham vidanâ Aharman min ham Zôrvânô bar*â* va*l* kâdmôn, bar*â* va*l* star-pâhyago[3] yâtûntô; band-i âsmâno pavan starpâhyago vishâ*d*o-î numû*d*o, m*â* frô*d*o va*l* tanhâîgih hîsht, nîrûg bônddâ*d*o-î[4] rôshanâno va-târâno, zivâk-î âr*d*îgo mûnash tajishno-î ko*l*â 2-ân pa*d*ash. 28. *A*fash târîgîh levat*â* nafsh*â* dâshtano *b*ên va*l* âsmâno yâîtyûntô. âsmân ângûn va*l* tom hîshto, aêgh andarûnog sâko pavan âsmâno *c*and 3 aêvako-aê *a*j*v*ar star-pâhyag bar*â* yehamtûnê*d*o.

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[1] K omits

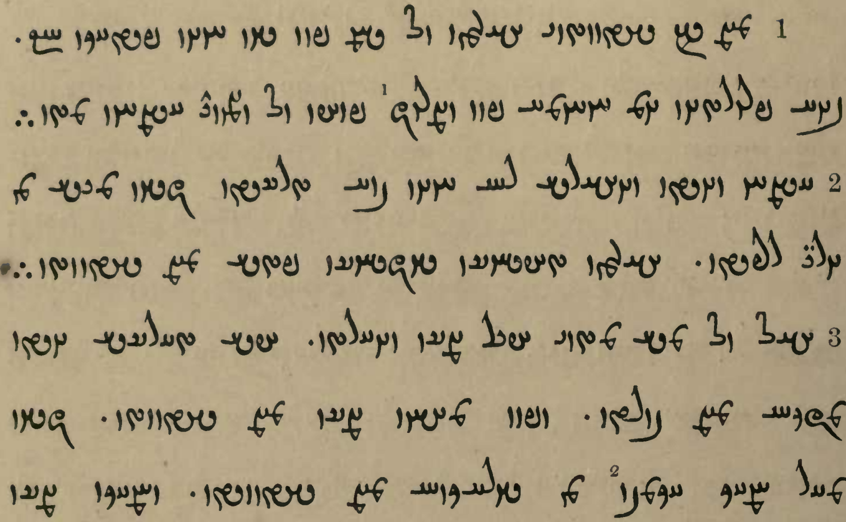
[2] MSS.

[3] A mis-spelling of pâyago.

[4] Perhaps "communication of": or possibly bûn-gashtan-î, "original evolution of."

[5] MSS.

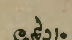
CHAPTER II.



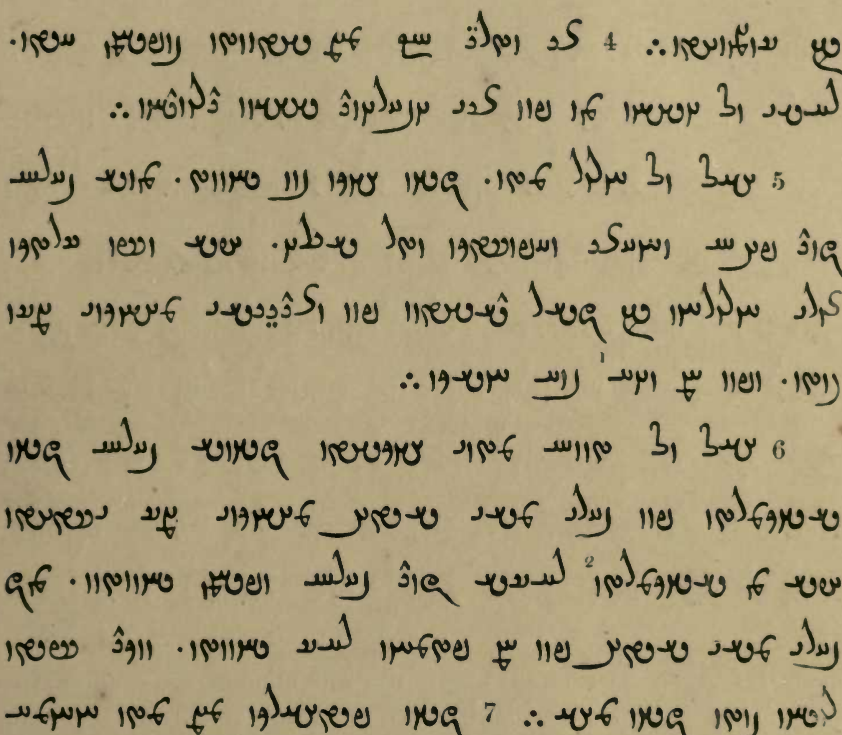
CHAPTER II.

1. Madam *bên* yâtûntô-î Aharmanô va*l* dâm pavan dênô ângûn pê*d*âko aêgh, bî*r*akh Fravar*d*îno, yôm Aûha*r*ma*zd* pavan nîmrôj, f*râ*zo va*l* vîmond-i âsmâno ma*d*o. 2. Asmân vênê*d*o va-gôhârîh râî ângûn ba*r*â tarsê*d*o cîgûn mêsh min gûrg lar'*z*ê*d*o ; Aharmanô t*âv*ishnîgo sôjishnîgo pa*d*ash madam yâtûntô. 3. Akha*r* va*l* mayâ ma*d*o-î *az*îr zamîgo nîvâr*do*, *a*fash târîgîh gvî*d*o mijak-aê madam bûr*do* ; va-pavan mîyâno-i zamîgo madam yâtûntô, cîgûn mâr hamâk akumbo min sûrâko-aê madam yâtûnê*do* ; va-hamâko *z*amîgo

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[1] MSS. 

[2] Compare Pers. kunbîdan, "to leap."



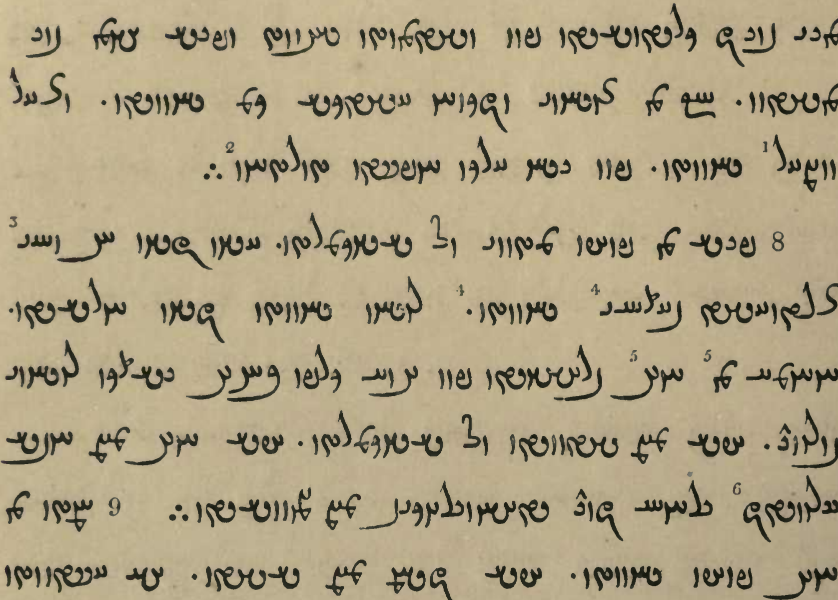
bên yegavîmûnâ*do*. 4. Zag vi*d*arg aêgh madam yâtûntô benafsh*â* aîto, râs-î va*l* dûshahvô mûn pavan zag-î dûbârînend shêdâno drevandâno.

5. Akha*r* va*l* aûrvar ma*do*, *c*igûn aêvako bûn yehvun*d*, mûnash bâlâî *c*and p*âî*-aê, va-anazg va-apôstako va-tar shîrîn; *a*fash vis*pô* sar*d*ako zôr-î aûrvarâno *b*ên *c*ihar dâshtano pavan nazdîgîh-î mîyânako-î zamîgo bû*do*; va-pavan ham-vidanâ bar*â* khûshko.

6. Akha*r* va*l* tôr*â*g ma*d*o-î aêvak-dâ*do*, *c*igûnash bâlâi *c*igûn Gâîyôkmar*do* pavan bâr-î mayâ-î Dâîtih mîyânako-î *z*amîg îstâ*do*; *a*fash min Gâîyôkmar*do* rakhîgîh *c*and bâlâî-i nafsh*â* yehvûntano, min-ic bâr-î mayâ-î Dâîtih pavan ham pa*d*mâno rakhîg yehvûntô; va-neke*b* s*pêdo* rôshanô bû*do* *c*igûn mâh. 7. *C*igûn paîtîyârako madam ma*do* Aûha*r*ma*zd*

[1] MSS. [illegible]

[2] MSS. add [illegible].



mang-î bang-ic karîtunî-aîto pavan vashtamûntan yehabûn*d*, va-pêsh-i aîn*d* bang mûshtano, aêgh min zanishno-î vazakoân ashâ*d*akîh kam yehvûnê*do*; nizâr va-vìmâr yehvûntô, pavan dashin kharako aûfdî*do* tavratâno.

8. Pêsh min f*râzo* ma*d*ano-î va*l* Gâîyôkmar*do*-i adìno *c*igûn 3-o aê[3]-î Zaratûkhsht bâlâî-î yehvûntô, rôshanô yehvûntô *c*igûn khûrshê*do*, Aûha*r*maz*d* min khv*âê* brâhînê*do* pavan gab*r*â kerpo-i 15 sâlako-i rôshanô-î bûlônd, *a*fash madam she*dr*unê*do* va*l* Gâîyôkmar*do*; *a*fash khv*âê* madam aûbash de*b*rûnê*d*-ic darânâî *c*and Yat-ahû-vaîryôki-1 madam yema*l*e*l*unî-aîto. 9. Amato min khv*âê* f*râzo* yehvûntô, *a*fash *c*ashm madam dâshto, *a*sh khadîtûnto

[1] BK [Pahlavi], K [Pahlavi], but [Pahlavi] in Bund. iii., 18.

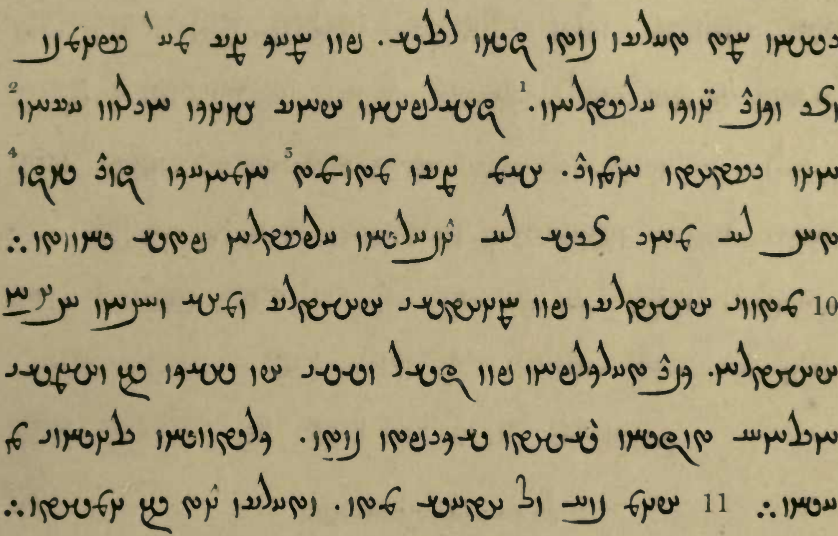
[2] Tavratâno, for tartavâno, compare Pers. tartabân, "trembling."

[3] Or 3 nâî, "3 reeds" = 14 feet (see S. B. E. XVIII., pp. 48, n. 5; 142, n. 1.)

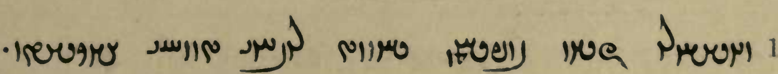
[4] So MSS., but better omit [Pahlavi], or transpose into [Pahlavi].

[5] MSS. transpose into [Pahlavi], but see Bund. iii., 19.

[6] Corrected from [Pahlavi].



CHAPTER III.



gêhâno amat târîgo bû*d*o *c*igûn lêlyâ; pavan hamâk zamîg mâr, g*ê*zdûmbo, vazag, va-kabed gûnako khrastarâno[1]; *c*ahârpââno *av*ârîg âyûinako andarûno khasâno[2] ângûn-îstâ*d*o hav*â*nd; hâm zamîgo ma*d*o-ma*d*[3] hûmânâko *c*and sôzan[4] têkh lâ mând zyash lâ dûbârishno-i khr*a*f-starân pa*d*ash yehvûntô. 10. Ma*d*ano-î *a*pâkhtarîgo pavan ham-dvâ*d*ih-î *a*pâkhtarîg va-mâh va-4-âno 5-ân *a*pâkhtarân; kabed târ-kerpâno pavan *c*îhar va-gês-î *Azo* Dahâko *b*ên vâhamîh-î Anîrân-aê tôjishno dâshto; shkîfto bû*d*o karîtûnishno dregvadâno-î min ashavan. 11. *A*fdûm bar*â* va*l* âtakhsh ma*d*o, va-târîgo dû*d* *b*ên gumîkhto.

CHAPTER III.

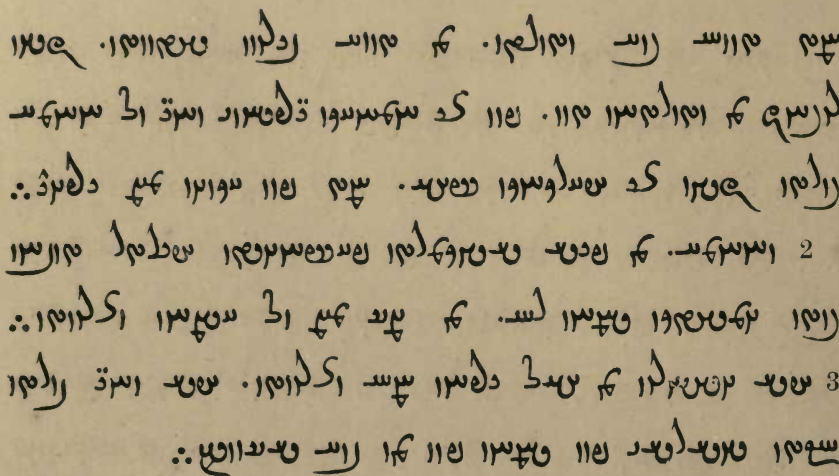
1. Va-Gôsh-aûrva, *c*igûn benafsh*â* yehvûn*d* rûbân-î tôrâg-î aêvak-dâ*d*o,

[1] For [illegible] khr*a*fstarâno. K gives also [illegible] as an alternative.

[2] "Reptiles" (see the *older* Persian dictionaries).

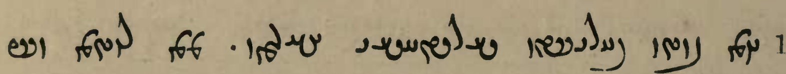
[3] Pers. âmad-âmad.

[4] Sôzan, "needle"; MSS. [illegible]



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CHAPTER IV.



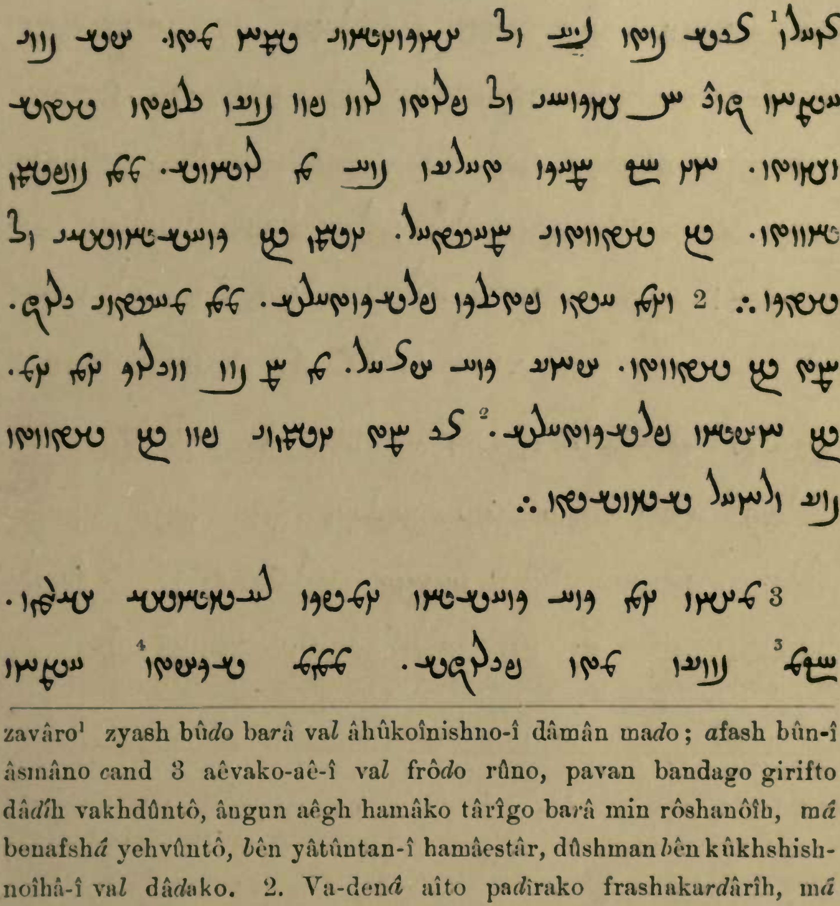
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amat tô*r*âg ba*r*â vi*d*ôr*d*o, min tô*r*â bîrûno yâtûntô, *c*îgûn rûbân-i*c* min vi*d*ôr*d*âno tano, pavan zag hûmânâko gar'*z*ishno-î vâng va*l* Aûha*r*ma*zd* bûr*d*o *c*îgûn zag-i *h*a*z*ârakânako s*i*pâh, amat pavan akvayôv madam gar'*z*ênd. 2. Va-Aûha*r*ma*zd* min pêsh-i Gâîyôk-mar*d*o pâs*p*ânînî*d*an *a*vîrtar tûbâno bû*d*an gûmîkhtako dâmâno râî, min *z*amîg madam va*l* âsmâno vazlûntô. 3. *A*fash Gôshaûrvan min akha*r* gar'*z*âno hamâî vazlûntô, *a*fash vâng bûr*d*o aêghato sa*r*dârîh-î pavan dâmâno pavan mûn ba*r*â shedgûnî -ên ?

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CHAPTER IV.

1. Den*â* bû*d*o bâlîsto shalîtâîh-î Aharmanô, m*â* levat*â* vis*p*



zavâro[1] zyash bû*d*o ba*r*â va*l* âhûkoînishno-î dâmân ma*d*o; *a*fash bûn-î âsmâno *c*and 3 aêvako-aê-î va*l* frô*d*o rûno, pavan bandago girifto dâ*d*îh vakhdûntô, âugun aêgh hamâko târîgo ba*r*â min rôshanôîh, m*â* benafsh*â* yehvûntô, *b*ên yâtûntan-î hamâestâr, dûshman *b*ên kûkhshishnoîhâ-î va*l* dâ*d*ako. 2. Va-den*â* aîto pa*d*îrako frashaka*rd*ârîh, m*â* mahistô-î drûj, amat *b*ên yâtûntô, *a*vâ*r*îg ko*l*â *a*fzâr, min ham bûn vanîrûk den*â* yôm, *b*ên khv*â*pishno-i frashaka*rd*ârîh, [2]zag amat dûshmanô-î pavan *b*ên yâtûntan bandag va-lakhvâr yakhsenunî-aîto.

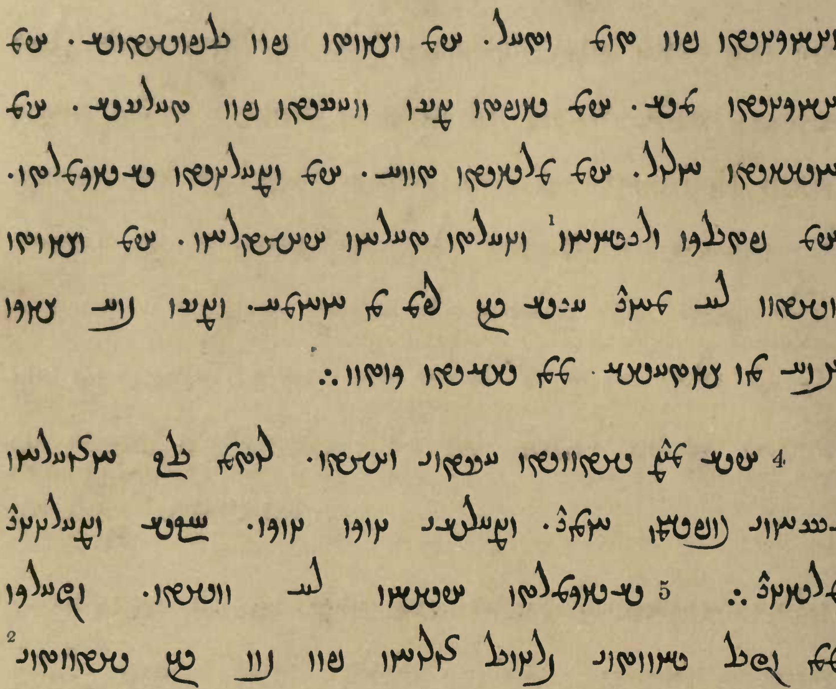
3. Mîyâno den*â* ko*l*â kûkhshishno gûmêzako râyînishnîhâ-i Aharmanô, aêgham "bûnyago ma*d*o pîrûzîh, m*â*m shk*â*fto âsmâno

[1] Av. zâvare.

[2] Some word seems missing here.

[3] MSS. [illegible]

[4] Probably shkâfto "split"; BK, [illegible], K [illegible]

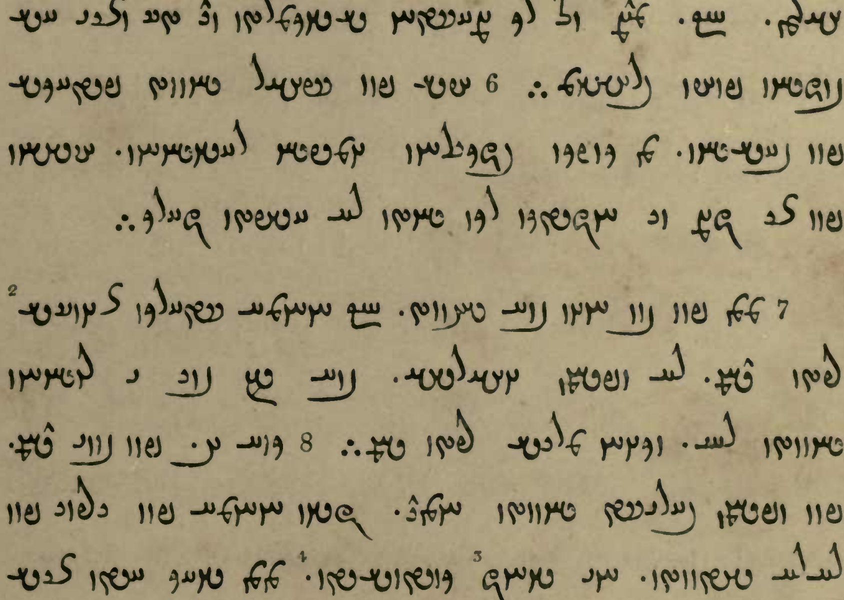


va-âhûkînî*d*o pavan tôm va-târ, *a*fam vakhdûntô pavan drupûshtoîh; *a*fam âhûkînî*d*o mayâ, *a*fam sûfto *z*amîko vinâsî*d*o pavan târîgîh, *a*fam khûshînî*d*o aûrvar, *a*fam margînî*d*o tôr*â*, *a*fam vîmârînî*d*o Gâîyôkmar*d*o, *a*fam pa*d*îrako vardishnâno[1] nîvâr*d*o târân va- *a*pâkhtarâno; *a*fam vakhdûntan vashtano lâ mând aîsh *b*ên ra*z*m min Aûha*r*ma*zd*, va-*z*amîgo ba*r*â aêvako gab*r*â mûn aêvatâgihâ, m*á* shâyê*d*o ka*rd*ano?"

4. *A*fash madam she*d*r*u*nê*d*o Astô-î-vîdâ*d*o, levat*á* 1000 aûzvârâno yasgâno-î benafsh*á* hav*á*d, vîmârîh-î gûnako gûnako, aêghash vîmârî nênd margînênd. 5. Gâîyôkmar*d*o *az*shâno lâ vindâ*d*o, va-câ*r*ako m*á* vijîr yehvûntô-î barînogar Zôrvâno pavan bûn-î *b*ên yâtûntan-î

[1] Probably for var*d*ishnâno, "those revolving"; apparently the signs of the zodiac.

[2] BK. inserts ıı., but these two strokes merely fill up the end of a line in K.



Aharman, aêgh: "Madam val 30 zimâstân[1] Gâîyôkmardo vad têg vazag-î khayâ bôjishno frâzo brâhînam." 6. Afash pavan spihâr yehvûnd pêdâkîh pavan bakhshishno-î min kirfako bajakgarûno gûmêzishn râyînishnâno, afshâno pavan zag cim vad hanjîdako-î 30-o shnato lâ ayâfto cârak.

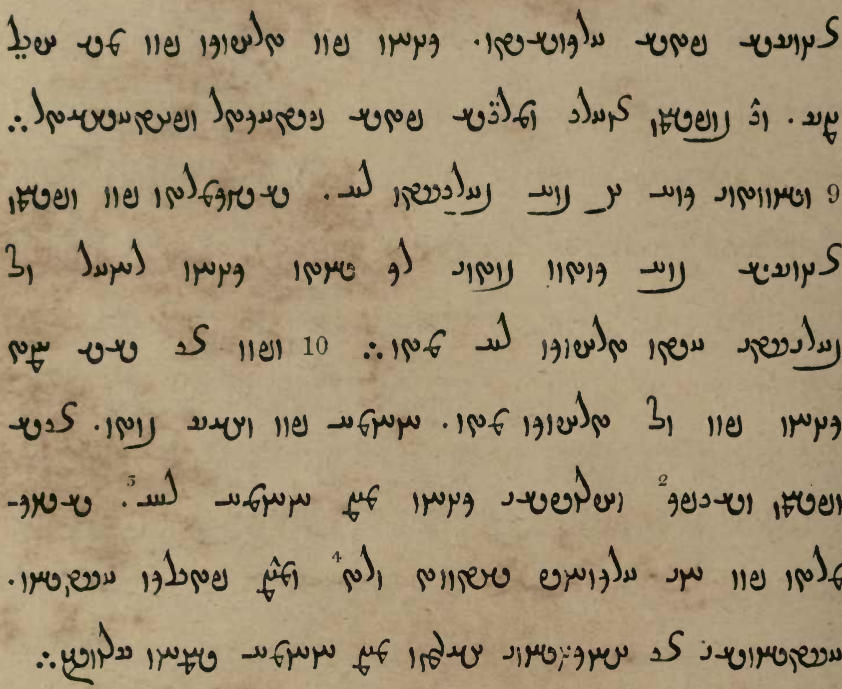
7. Mâ pavan bûn ângûn barâ yehabûnd, aêgh Aûharmazd stârako zîvandagîh lecado dâm, lâ nafshâ-gôhârîhâ, barâ bên band-î rôshanâno yehvûntan râî; va-Kêvân margîh lecado dâm. 8. Kolâ 2, pavan bûn-i dâm, pavan nafshâ bâlist yehvûntô havâd, cîgûn Aûharmazd pavan Galacang pavan lâlâ yâtûntan, ân-î Jîvân-ic karîtunî-aîto, mâ zîvâk aîto zyash

[1] For zimastan.

[2] MSS.

[3] BK

[4] MSS.



zîvandagîh pa*d*ash khelkunî-aîto; Kêvâno pavan Tar*â*z*û*ko pavan mas a*z*îr *z*amîg, vad benafsh*â* zôharî[1] va-margîh pa*d*ash pê*d*âktar va-pâ*d*akhshahtar. 9. Va-yehvûntô-î ko*l*â 2 ba*r*â bâlîsto lâ, Gâîyôk-mar*do* pavan nafsh*â* zîvandagîh ba*r*â ka*rd*ano bû*d*o-î 30 shnato Kêvâno lakhvâr va*l* bâlîst-î aîto Tar*â*z*û*ko lâ ma*do*. 10. Va-pavan zag gâs amat Kêvâno pavan va*l* Tar*â*z*û*ko ma*do*, Aûha*r*ma*zd* pavan Vâhîg bû*do*, zyash nafsh*â* nishî*r*ak va-*a*parvêzîh-î Kêvâno madam Aûha*r*ma*zd* râî, Gâîyôkmar*do* pavan ân-î khalakoân-*îc* yâtûn*d* vur*d*[4] va-madam pa*d*î-rako astishno, astishnoîh-î zag âhûkînishno-î Aharmanô madam Aûha*r*ma*zd* dâmâno de*b*rûnyên.

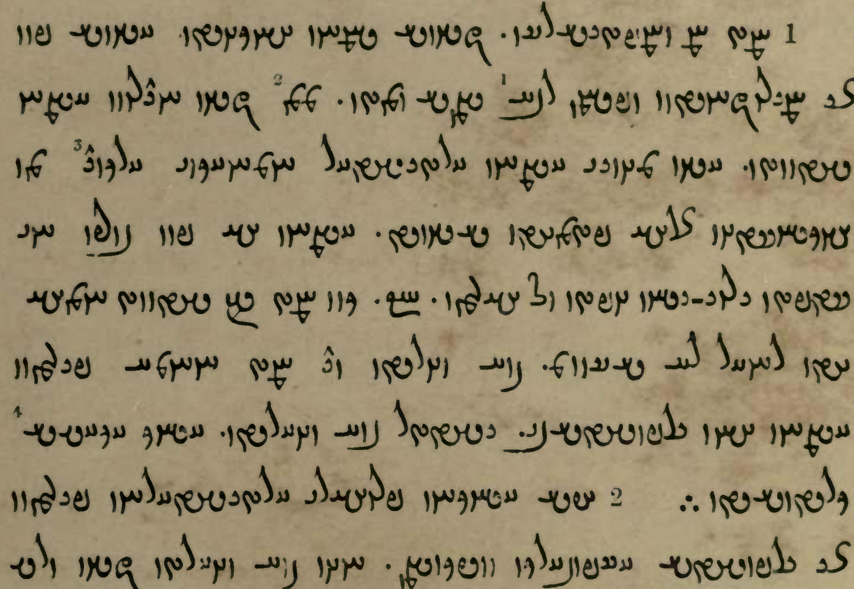
[1] For zahrîh, "venom."

[2] MSS.

[3] MSS.

[4] For bûd, "endured, suff red."

CHAPTER V.



CHAPTER V.

1. Amat ham va-ham-patîyârigo[5], *c*îgûnash dâmâno âhûkîni*d*o, adînosh pavan zag ham-drûjânî*d*ano nafsh*â* rabâ-gad*â*îh numû*d*o, m*â* *c*igûn andarûno âsmân yâtûntô, adîno maînôg-î âsmâno aratêshtâr hûmânâko-î arkand[3] mûn ayôkshûstîno zrâh pa*d*mûkhtô yakhsenunê*d*; âsmâno *as*h pavan bûr'jo ân-î stafto[6] drôg-sakhûn gûfto va*l* Aharmanô aêgh: "Kevan amat *b*ên yâtûn*d* hav*â*ih-*ae*, ato lakhvâr lâ shedgûnam;" ba*r*â nîvarî*d*o[7] vad amat Âûha*r*ma*zd* pîramûno âsmâno akha*r*an drupûshtîh-l-î sakhttar ba*r*â nivari*d*o, Ashôk-âkâsîh karîtunîaito.

2. *A*fash ashôkâno fravâhar-î aratêshtârâno piramûno zag drupûshtîh, aspô-bârako va-nê*z*ako-yad*â*, ângûn ba*r*â nîvâr*d*o *c*igûn vars

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[1] MSS. . [2] K has above . [3] Pers arghand. [4] K .

[5] Or ham-padisârigo. [6] Compare Pers. shitâftan. [7] Compare Sans. nivr.

[Pahlavi script]

3 [Pahlavi script][1] [Pahlavi script][2] [Pahlavi script]

4 [Pahlavi script][3] [Pahlavi script] 5 [Pahlavi script]

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madam rôêshá; hûmânâkîh-î zîndâno-pânân mûn min bîrûno zîndâno netrûnend, va-dûshmanô min andarûn neflûnast sâmânâno-î bîrûno lâ shedgûnyên, yâtûntô.

3. Pavan ham-gûno-aê-î Aharmanô kûkhshêdo, aêgh lakhvâr val nafshá bûndago târîgîh vazlûnêdo, afash vidarg lâ ayâfto; afash gûmâno-medamáunishnoîhâ bîm-î min far'j-aûmandîh-î 9000[2] shnato sar, va-yehvûntano-i frashakardo pavan cîhar barâ aûshmârdo.

4. Cîgûn yemalelunî-aîto pavan Gâsâno aêgh: 'Aêdûno-c zag kolâ-2 maînôg val ham mad havând val zag-î valâ fratûm dahishno, (aêgh, kolâ-2 maînôg val tano-î Gâîyôkmardo mado havâd). 5 Mûn-ic pavan zîvandagîh

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[1] Ham-gûno-aê-î, "such a manner that;" K. transposes into [Pahlavi script], BK. [Pahlavi script].

[2] It may be 6 × 1000 (aê-hazâr) = 6000 years, the period then remaining; or it may be the whole of the 9000 years agreed upon.

[3] Quoted from Pahlavi Yasna XXX, 4, in §§ 4—6.

[Pahlavi text][1]
[Pahlavi text][2] [Pahlavi text][3]
[Pahlavi text]
[Pahlavi text] 6 [Pahlavi text][4]
[Pahlavi text]
[Pahlavi text]

7 [Pahlavi text]

CHAPTER VI.

1 [Pahlavi text][5] [Pahlavi text]

Aûharmazd pavan hanâ kâr, aêgh: "Vadash zîvandago yakhsenunânî"; mûn-ic pavan azîvandagîh Gônâg-maînôg pavan hanâ kâr, aêgh: "Vadash barâ yegtelûnânî"; va-mûn-ic aêdûno zag aîto vad val zag-î afdûm bên ahvâno, (aêgh, anshûtâ-c-î avârîg madam val yehamtûnd). 6. Va-vadotumîh-î drevandâno râî avakhshishno[1] barâ khadîtuntô, aêdûno valâ-î aharûbo pâshûm mainô gânîh, Aûharmazd aêmêdo-î hamâîgîh.

7. Va-denâ yehvûntô fratûm ardîgo-i âsmâno levatâ Aharmanô.

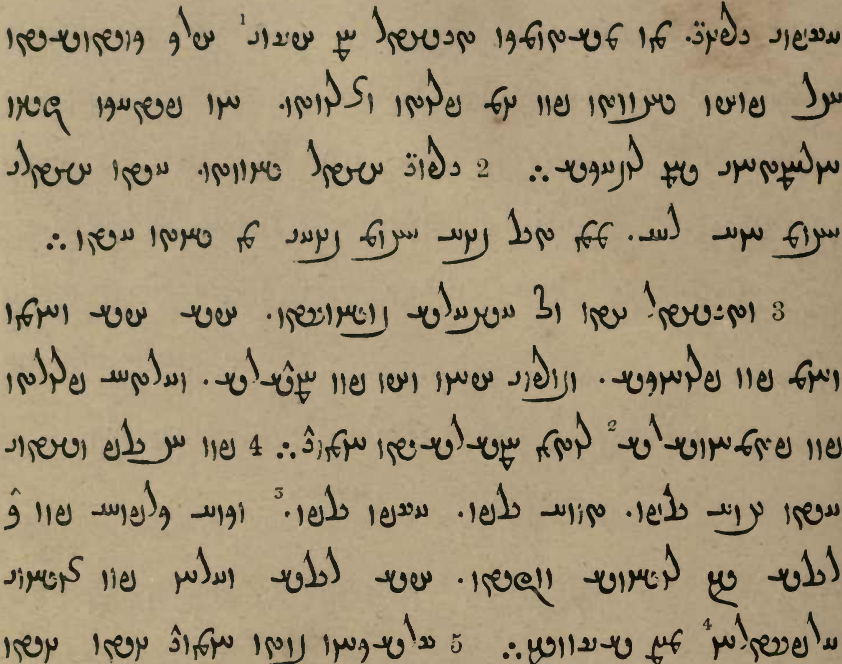
CHAPTER VI.

1. Va-cîgûn dadîgar val mayâ mado, zag ham-denâ-î[5] bên dûbârist.

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[1] MSS. [Pahlavi text]. [2] MSS. omit [Pahlavi text]. [3] MSS. [Pahlavi text].

[4] "Penance." In the Gâthâ it is varied by different MSS. into [Pahlavi text], [Pahlavi text] or [Pahlavi text] "destruction, annihilation." [5] For Pers. hamîn-î.



aspô-î Galacêng, mûn mayâtûmako Tîshtar; ham-*â*v*î*go-î[1] *Av*rak âka*r*îtunî-aîto abar f*râzo* yehabûntô pavan yôm frô*d*o vazlûntô; no pê*d*âko cîgûn avlâ-ma*d*ân-î dâm rûbâkîh. 2. Galacaug akhtar yehvûntô; aîto akhtar-î 4-ûm ba*r*â râî, m*â* Tîr bî*r*akh 4-ûm bî*r*akh-î min shnato aîto.

3. Va-Tîshtar yê*d*o val aîyyârîh bavîhûnasto, *a*fash *a*jash Vohûmanô va-Hôm pavan parvânakîh, va-Bûr'jo-î *âv*âno va-*âv*o pavan ham-dârîh, va-Ar*d*âî Fravar*d*o pavan pa*d*mâno-dârh[2] levat*â* ham-gârî-aîto hav*â*nd. 4. Pavan 3 gerp vashto-î aîto gab*r*â gerpo, tô*r*â gerpo, aspô gerpo[3]; va-ko*l*â kerpo-aê pavan 10 lêlyâ *b*ên rôshanôîh vanjî*d*o, *a*fash lêlyâ vâ*r*ân pavan zanishno- î khrafs-tarân[4] madam shedgûnyên. 5. Srishkâno bû*d*o hav*â*nd gvî*d*o gvî*d*o

[1] MSS. . [2] Or, perhaps, gâiîh. [3] Yasht VIII, 13, 16, 18.

[4] K 

[Pahlavi text]

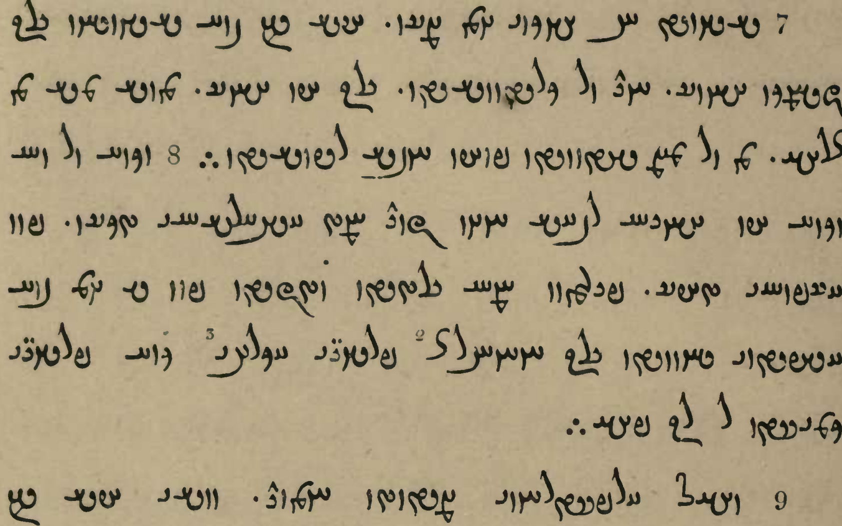
rabâ têshtô[1] mûn mayâ madam âhanjî-aîto; va-pavan zag madam ba*r*â makhîtuni-hasto hav*a*nd, vispâno khrafstarâno nesûnd[2] ba*r*â min khasandagâno mûn *b*ên gîligo-î zamîgo *b*ên vazlûn*d* hav*a*nd.

6. Akha*r* maînôg-i vâ*d*ô, pavan mar*d*ô âyûînako, pavan zamîgo pê*d*âko bû*d*o; rôshanô bûlônd âyûînako-î mûkvo-aê-î dârînô pavan rigl*â* dâshto; cigûn khayâ amat tano ba*r*â jumbînê*d*o, tano pavan ham-zôharîh f*râ*zo raftâr yehvûnê*d*o, zag maînôg-î vâ*d*o *b*ên ciharîg vâ*d*ô-î andarvâyîg f*râ*zo jûmbînî*d*o, hamâk zamîgo aêva-kar*d*akîhâ vâ*d*ô f*râ*zo aîto, *a*fash mayâ pavan mûshto *a*jash ba*r*â va*l* kustâno-î zamîg ramîtuntô, *a*fash zarâh-î Farâkhû-ka*r*do *a*jash bû*d*o.

[1] For [Pahlavi text] tashtô.

[2] Probably for [Pahlavi text] kesûnd, without prefix yî, see Haug's *Essay on Pahlavi*, p. 105. The MSS. place the following [Pahlavi text] before this verb.

[3] So K., with [Pahlavi text] above; BK [Pahlavi text].



7. Yakhsenunêd 3 aêvako-î denâ zamîgo, afash bên barâ yakhsenunishno 1000 cashmako khânoîg, and var karîtûnî-aîto; 1000 âvo khânîg, mûnash mayâ min zarâh, min var madam yâtûnêdo frâzo aûbash rêjoî-aîto. 8. Va-kolâ var nâî[4] va-kolâ âvo khânî-aê rabâîh ângûn cand amat asubârîh-aê-î takîgo, pavan aspô-aê-î Tâzîg, pîramûno hamâî gardêdo va-tajêdo[5] pavan 40 yôm barâ, ayâvêdo-î yehvûnêdo 1600[2] parasang-î akarih-î[3] kolâ parasang-ê kamîstô 20,000 pâîg.[6]

9. Va-akhar khrafstarâno-î yemîtunto havând, va-vish-î ajash bên

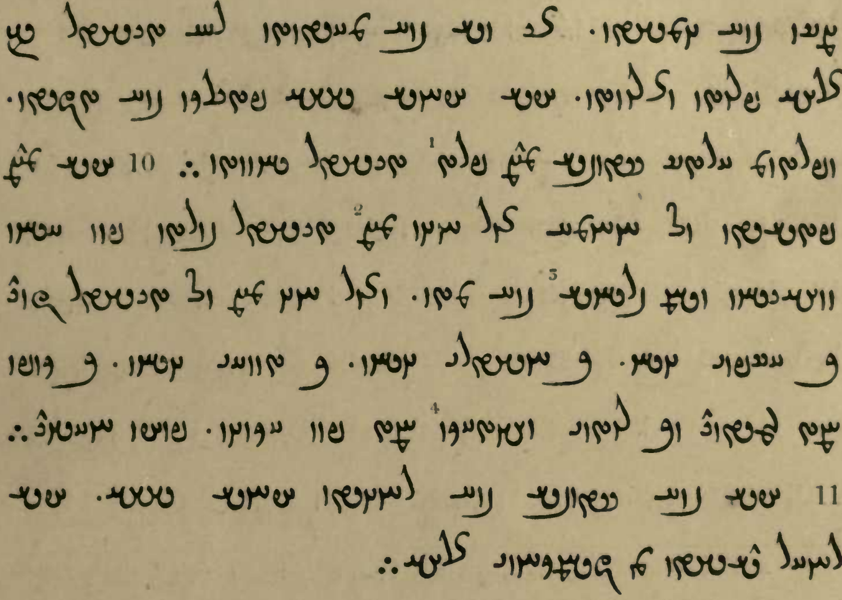
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[1] MSS. [Pahlavi].

[2] So K.; BK. alters each [Pahlavi] into [Pahlavi]. This seems to indicate 1900 parasangs in 40 days, which do not give an even number of parasangs daily. The K20 Bundahish, XIII., 2, has 1700 which also give a fractional amount daily. We should probably read 1600 parasangs, or 40 daily. And if we take [Pahlavi] = [Pahlavi] aê = [Pahlavi] 6 the number of hundreds would really be six times one = 6. The error in K. 20 has arisen from writing [Pahlavi] for [Pahlavi].

[3] For [Pahlavi] akarîg-î. [4] A "source, feeder." [5] Av. tac.

[6] As the foot was about $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, this long parasang was 17,500 English feet, or nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles.



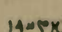
zamîgo ba*r*â gûmîkhto, zag vish ba*r*â makhîtuntan râî Tîshtar *b*ên zarâh frô*d*o vazlûntô; *a*fash *A*pâôsh[5] shêdâ pa*d*îrako ba*r*â tajî*do*, va-fratûm âr*d*îg stûbîh madam par*d*[1] Tîshtar yehvûntô. 10. *A*fash madam pati-shî*do*[6] va*l* Aûha*r*ma*zd*-i zôr âng*û*n madam Tîshtar bûr*d*o pavan khshnû va-nîyâyishno va-shem-burishnîh ba*r*â ma*do*, va-zôr ângun madam va*l* Tîshtar *c*and 10 aspô-î gûshno, 10 aûshtar-î gûshno, 10 tô*r*â-î gûshno, 10 kôfô amat ramîtund, va-10 rû*d*o-î nâêvtâko[4] amat pavan akvayôv f*râz*o khv*â*hênd. 11. *A*fash ba*r*â stûbîh ba*r*â rânînî*d*o *A*pâôsh shêdâ, *a*fash lakhvâr dâshto min *c*ashmakâno-î zarâh.

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[1] Pers. bard, "terror."

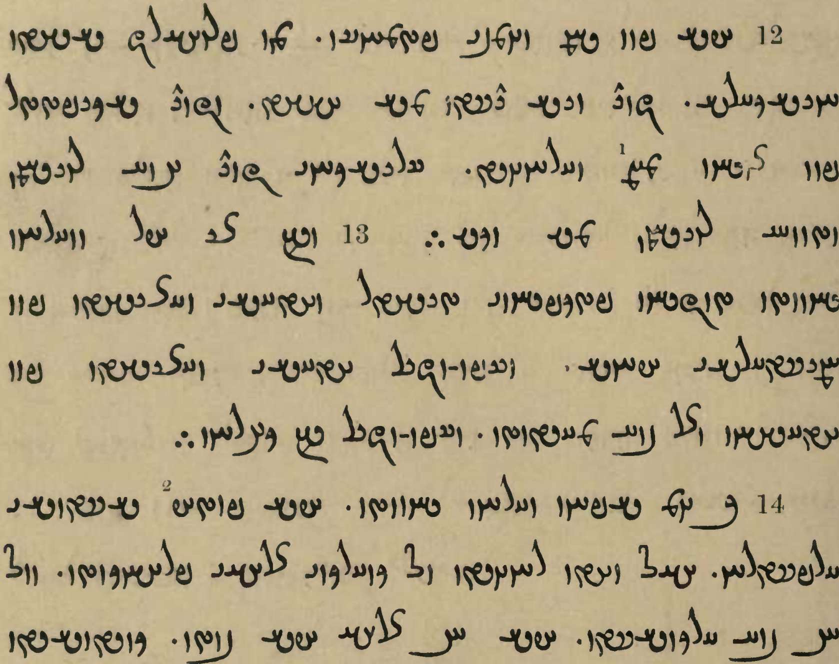
[2] BK. 

[3] Yasht VIII., 13, 16, 18.

[4] *Ibid.* 25. MSS. , which might mean "single-streamed," but the original is Av. nâvaya, "navigable."

[5] Yasht VIII., 21, 22.

[6] Av. paititish.

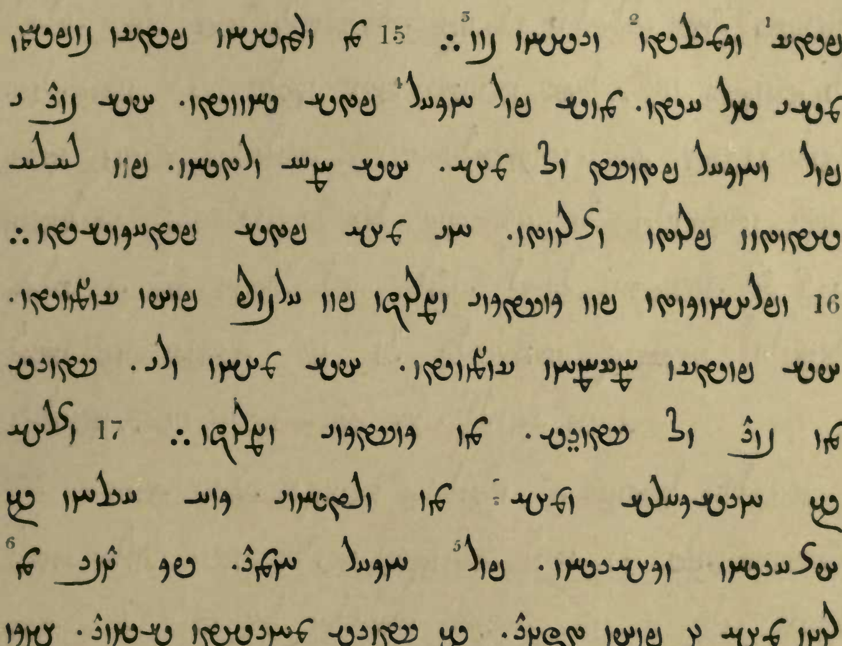


12. *A*fash pavan jâm va-gûmb-î pa*d*mânîgo, mûn fravâhar-i*c* dâshto khvêshkârîh, *c*and vêsh dasto mayâ hâkht, va-*c*and shikîfttar pavan zanishno madam[1] vârânînî*d* srîshkân-î *c*and gab*r*â rôêsh*â* va-tô*r*âg rôêsh*â*, mas va-kas. 13. Va-*b*ên zag *a*var va-vârâno yehvûntô tôjishno patka*v*ishno-î Tîshtar va-âtakhsh-î Vâzîshtô pavan hamêstârîh-î *A*pâôsh; vispô-vijîr âtakhsh-î Vâzîshtô pavan âtakhshâno vazar ba*r*â makhîtuntô, vispô-vijîr *b*ên kêbarâno.

14. 10 yôm shapâno vârâno yehvûntô, *a*fash pa*rtâv* shadîtunîh-î khrafstarân; akha*r* vâ*d*o rânînî*d*o va*l* kanârako-î zarâh-î Farâkhû-ka*rd*o, va-va*l* 3 ba*r*â khelkunî-hasto, *a*fash 3 zarâh *a*jash bû*d*o, ka*r*îtunî-aîto

[1] So MSS., but it should probably be  *avar*, "a cloud," (see § 13), and not *a*var = madam, "upon, down." Tîshtar "made the cloud rain."

[2] Par*târ*, "darting, spurting." MSS. .



Puîtîg[1] va-Kamîrî*d*o[2] va-Gêhâno-bûn.[3] 15. Min val*á*shâno Puîtîgo benafsh*á* mayâ-î sûr aîto, mûnash pûr avakâr[4] pa*d*ash yehvûnê*d*o; *a*fash band-î pûr va-avakâr pa*d*vast va*l* mâh, *a*fash hamâî var*d*ishno, pavan lâlâ yâtuntano frô*d*o vazlûntan, ân-î mâh pa*d*ash pê*d*âkoî-aîto. 16. Va-Farâkhû-kar*d*o pavan kûstako-î nîmrôjô pavan Albûr'*z* fr*â*zo yegavîmûnê*d*o, *a*fash Pûîtîgo ham-sâmâno yegavîmûnê*d*o, *a*fash mîyâno var-î Satavês, mûn band va*l* Satavês, mûn kûstako-î nîmrôjô. 17. Va-zarâh *b*ên khvêshkârîh, va-mâh, mûn var*d*ishno-î kol*â* Aîrâno, *b*ên *a*fzâyishno va-kâhîshno pûr avakâr hav*â*d; g*a*jak dûnbag min levîno-i mâh 2 fr*â*zo tajênd, *b*ên Satavês mânîshto yakhsenund; aêvako

[1] Pûtîg in Bd. XIII, 7-10; Av. Pûitika.

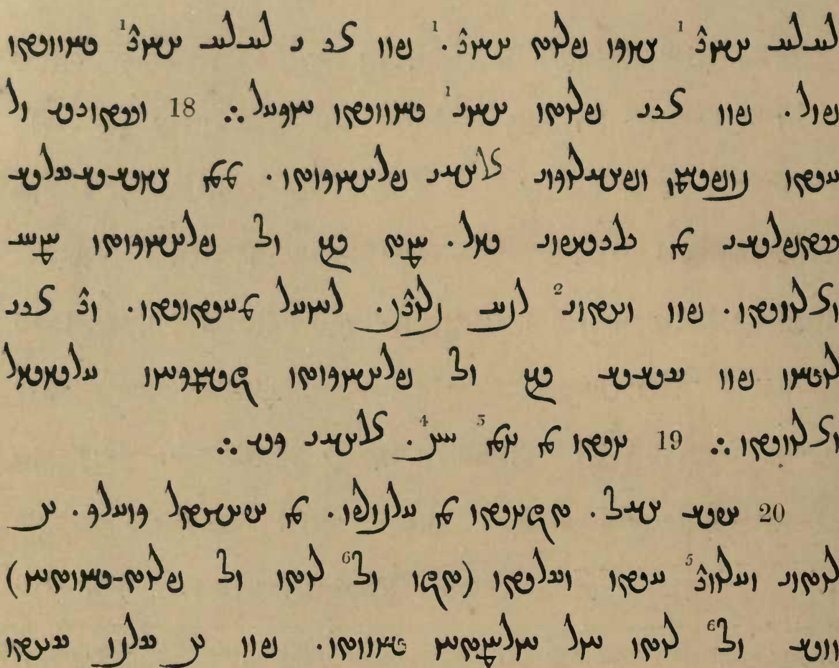
[2] Kamrû*d*, *ibid*, 7,15

[3] , *ibid*.

[4] Compare Sans. ava-kṛ.

[5] BK. , K .

[6] MSS.



lâlâ âhang, aêvako frô*d*-âhang ; pavan zag-î lâlâ-âhang yehvûnê*d*o pûr, pavan zag-î frô*d*o-âhang yehvûnê*d*o avakâr. 18. Va-Satavês var aîto benafsh*â* va-pâhlûko-î zarâh-î Farâkhû-ka*rd*o, m*â* ayôshdâsarîh stavarîh-î min dar*î*y*â*vo-î sûr, amat *b*ên va*l* Farâkhû-ka*rd*o hamâî vazlûnê*d*o, pavan vâ*d*o-î rabâ-î buland-î, lakhvâr makhîtune*d*o ; vad zag-î roshanô pavan dagyâîh *b*en va*l* Farâkhû-ka*rd*o *c*ashmakâno-i Arêdvisûr vazlûnê*d*o. 19. Gvî*d*o min den*â* 4,[4] zarâh-î kas.

20. *A*fash akha*r*, tajînî*d*o min Albûr'*z*o, min *a*pâkhtar kanârako, 2 rû*d*o-î va[5]-Arvand aîto va-Diglîto (tajo-î va*l*[6] rû*d*o va*l* frô*d* yehvun*d*ân) va-Vêh va*l*[6] rû*d*o va*l* khûr avlâ-ma*d*ân yehvûntô ; pavan 2 srubô sakhto

[1] So MSS. but Bd. XIII, 13 has , compare Pers. âhanjîdan ; the two dots are easily corrupted into a circumflex.

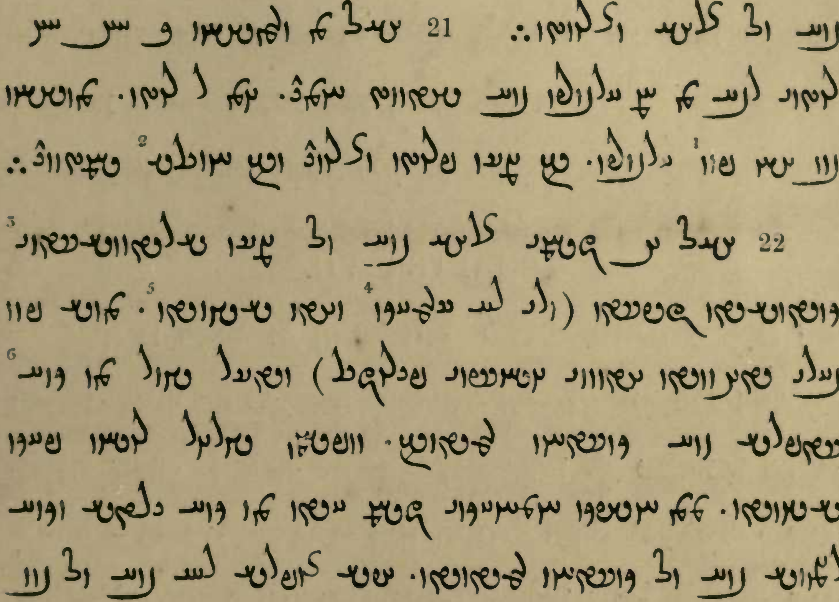
[2] The MSS. have , by some old transposition of letters.

[3] The MSS. have .

[4] The ocean and the three seas mentioned in § 14.

[5] Va means "both" here.

[6] For valâ.



ba*r*â va*l* zarâh vazlûntô. 21. Akha*r* min val*â*shâno 18 rû*d*o-î rabâ min ham Albûr'*z*o ba*r*â yâtûn*d* hav*â*nd ; den*â* 20 rû*d*o, mûnshâno bûn khân pavan Albûr'*z*o, *b*ên *z*amîgo frô*d*o vazlûnd va-*b*ên Khvanîras[2] yehamtûnd.

22. Akha*r* 2 *c*ashm-î zarâh ba*r*â va*l* *z*amîgo sharîtûnî-hasto-i ka*r*ituni-aîto *Cê*casto (var-î lâ sarmâko vâ*d*o yakhsenunê*d*o, mûnash pavan bâr-ê yetîbûnê*d*o âtûrô-î Gûshnas*p*ô-î pîrû*z*gar), va-da*d*îgar Sôvar mûn ko*l*â sta*v*arîh ba*r*â kûstâno ramîtunyên, va-nafsh*â* sûragvar rôshanô pâko yakhsenunê*d*o, m*â* and*â*zako hûmânâko-î *c*ashm aîto, mûn ko*l*â dar*d*îh va-ko*l*â rîmanoîh ba*r*â va*l* kûstâno ramîtunê*d*o ; *a*fash zôfarîh râî ba*r*â va*l* bûn

[1] The MSS. have [illegible].

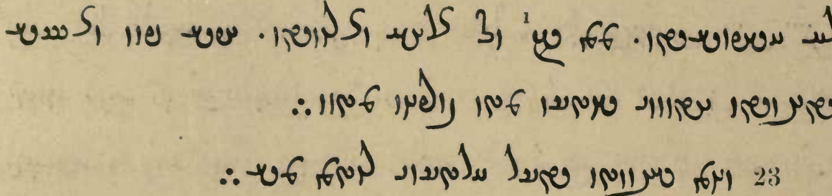
[2] BK. inserts [illegible] or *á*p khvôshkârîh, K. inserts [illegible] akhvêshkârîh.

[3] The MSS. have [illegible] for [illegible].

[4] MSS. [illegible].

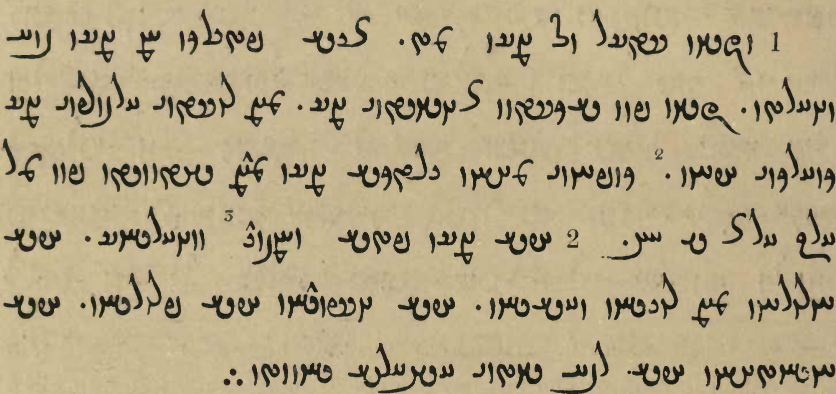
[5] MSS. [illegible].

[6] MSS. [illegible].



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CHAPTER VII.



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lâ ayâvoi-aîto, *mâ* bên va*l* zarâh vazlûnê*d*o; *a*fash pavan nazdîgîh yetîbûnê*do* âtû*r*ô-î sûdîgo ma*do* Bûr'zîno Mit*r*ô.

23. Va-den*â* yehabûntô da*d*îgar ar*d*îgo-î levat*â* mayâ.

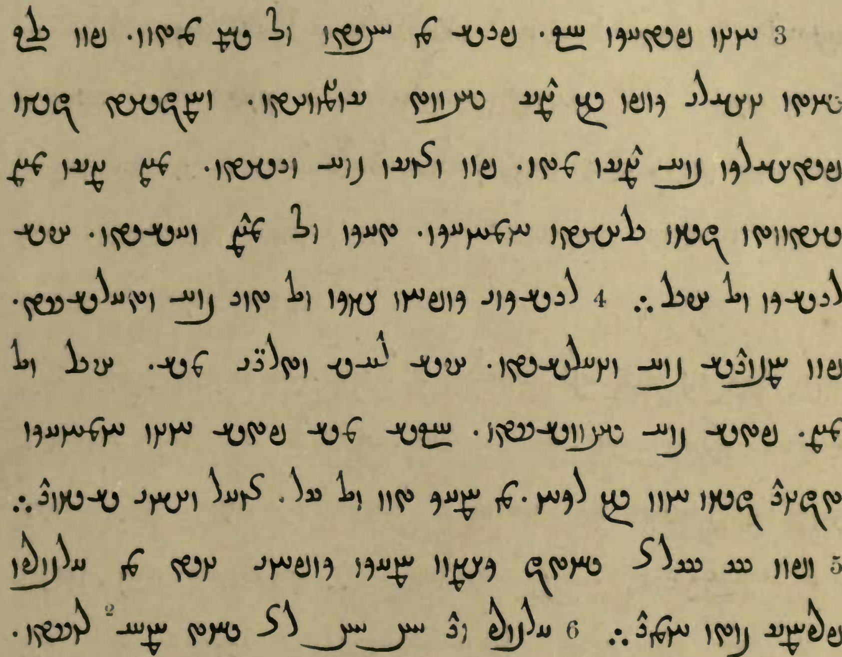
CHAPTER VII.

1. Va-cîgûn sa*d*îgar va*l* zamîgo ma*d*, zyash pa*d*îrako ham zamîgo ba*r*â nîvâr*do*, *c*îgûn pavan shkastano zîvagînî*d*an-î zamîg, madam rûstan-î Albûr'z-î zamîg kanârako-î *â*vâno[2], kôfâno-î mîyâno gar*d*akîh-i zamîgo madam yâtûnê*do* pavan mar-i 2244. 2. *A*fash zamîgo pa*d*ash va[3]-ham-band va-nîvârishnîg, *a*fash aûrvarâno madam royishno vakhshishno, *a*fash gôs*p*endâno *a*jash parvarishno, *a*fash anshûtâno *a*jash rabâ sû*d*o-î aîyyârîh yehvûntô.

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[1] MSS.

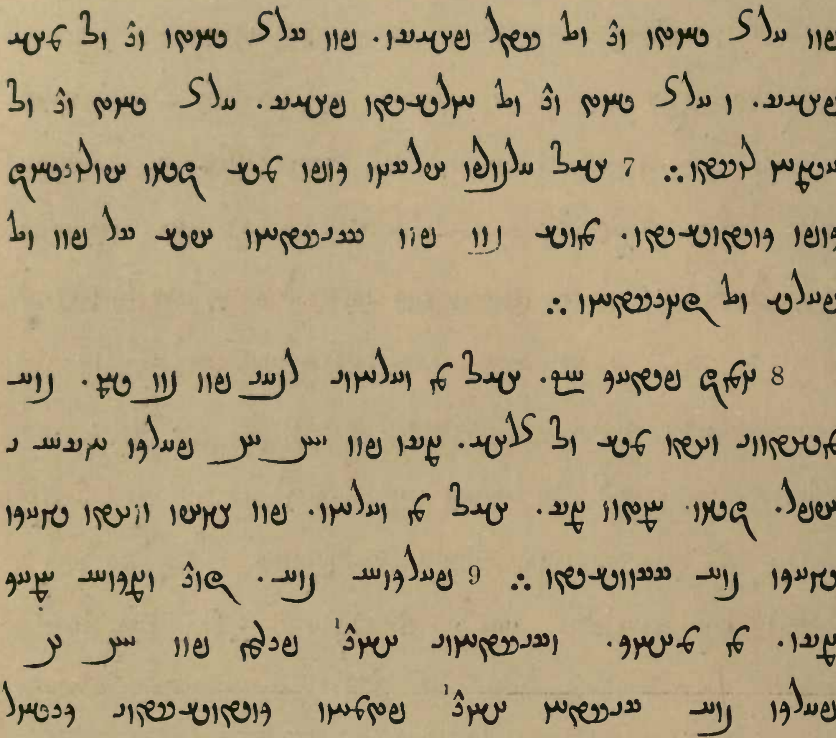
[2] Possibly for *avârîg*, but doubtful. [3] Va means "both" here.



3. Ângûn pê*d*âko aêgh, pêsh min aîbija*d*o va*l* dâm ma*d*ano, pavan 1000 shnato gôhâr-î kôfô *b*ên zamîg yehabûntô yegavîmûnâ*d*o, nâmcisht *c*îgûn paîtîyârako ba*r*â zamîgo ma*d*o, pavan vazandago ba*r*â nishto, madam zamîgo madam yâtûntô *c*îgûn dirâkhto hûmânâko, tâko va*l* madam vakhshî*d*o, *a*fash rîshako va*l* *a*zîr. 4. Rîshako-î kôfâno aêvako va*l* tanê ba*r*â vi*d*ârî-hast, pavan ham-bandîh ba*r*â nîvârî-aito, *a*fash râs vi*d*arg-î mayâ; *a*zîr va*l* madam, pa*d*ash ba*r*â yehabûnî-hasto, aêghash mayâ pa*d*ash ângûn hûmânâk tajênd *c*îgûn khûno *b*ên rakân, min hamâk tano va*l* dîl, zôhar-i nihân-î yakhsenund. 5. Va-pavan 600[1] shnat-i*c* kâdmôn hamâko kôfân-î gvî*d* min Albûr'zo far'jâmîg bû*d*o hav*â*d. 6. Albûr'zo vad 800 shnat hamâî[2] rûstô;

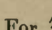
[1] This 600 is more likely than the 18 in Ind. Bd. VIII, 5; XII, 1; although this 18 is confirmed by Irân. Bd. IX, XIX.

[2] BK. omits hamâî



pavan 200 shnato vad val star pâhyago, pavan 200 shnato vad val mâh pâhyag, va-200 shnat vad val khûrshê*d*o pâhyag, 200 shnato vad val âsmân rûstô. 7. Akha*r* Albûr'*z*o *A*parsênô kôfô mêh, *c*îgûn *Avar*-rôyishn-i*c* kôfô ka*r*îtunî-aîto, mûnash bûn pavan Sagîstâno *a*fash sar pavan val Pârs val *C*înîstâno.

8. Den*â*-*c* pê*d*âk, aêgh :—Akha*r* min vârâno-î rabâ-î pavan bûn-i dâm, ba*r*â mûshtano-î vâ*d*o mayâ val *z*arâh, *z*amîgo pavan 7 pârako andag-aê-î *azvar*, *c*îgûn ham-tano *z*amîg, akha*r* min vârâno, pavan aêv*â**z*o va-vâ*d*ô *z*îvâko *z*îvâko ba*r*â sedgûnî-aîto. 9. Pârako-aê ba*r*â, *c*and nêmakoaê hamâk *z*amîgo, min mîyânak, va-Sagistâno-î hând pîramun pavan 6 pârako ; ba*r*â Sagistân hând pa*d*mâno ka*r*îtunî-hasto-î kêshvar,

[1] For  hâvand.

[illegible] 10 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] 11 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible][1] [illegible][2] [illegible]
[illegible][3]

12 [illegible]

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CHAPTER VIII.

1 [illegible]
[illegible]

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pavan zag *c*îm pavan kêsh aêvako min tanê pê*d*âko yehvûntô. 10. Mîyâno Khvanîras-i min Pârs miyânako aîto, va-zag 6 kêshvar *av*îsar hûmânâk. 11. Bâhar-aê min zarâh-i Farâkhû-ka*rd*o pîramun zag gashto, mîyâno zag 6 kêshvar; zag kûstako-î nîmrôj zarâh va-vêshako bar*â* vakhdûntô, zag-î *a*pâkhtarîgo kôf-î bûr'*z*o bar*â* rûstô, aêgh vad, aêvako min tanê, gvî*d*o yehvûnând va-apê*d*âko.[3]

12. Den*â* yehvûnê*do* sa*d*îgar ar*d*îgo madam zamîgo.

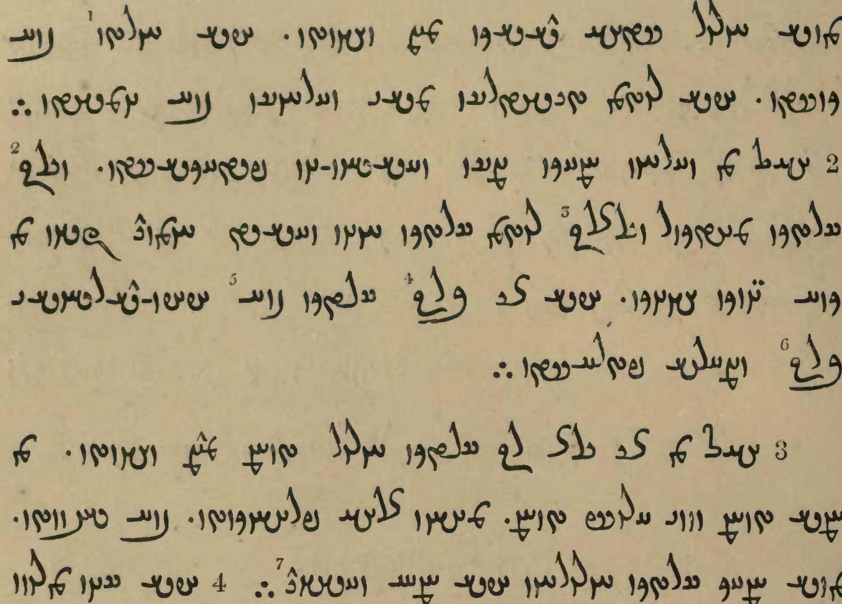
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CHAPTER VIII.

1. *C*igûn *c*abârûm va*l* aûrvar ma*do*, zyash pavan ham aûrvar pa*d*îrako kûkbshî-aîto, m*â* zag aûrvar bar*â* khûshko, Amû*rd*a*do*,

---

[1] MSS. [illegible] [2] MSS. [illegible] [3] MSS. [illegible]



mûnash aûrvar stîsh dakhshako madam vakhdûntô, *a*fash khûr*do* ba*r*â kûsto, *a*fash levat*â* Tîshtarîgo mayâ-î vârânîgo ba*r*â gûmîkhto. 2. Akha*r* min vârâno hamâko *z*amîgo vakhshishno-gûn pê*d*âkî-hasto, va 10,000 sar*d*ako-i mâ*d*akvar va-100,000 levat*â* sar*d*ako ângûn vakhshî*d* hav*â*nd *c*îgûn min ko*l*â gûnako âyûînako; *a*fash zag 10,000 sar*d*ako ba*r*â[5] *avâzo*-dârishnîh-î 10,000 vîmârîh pa*d*râsto.

3. Akha*r* min zag 100,000 sar*d*ako aûrvar tôkhm madam vakhdûntô, min hamîh-i tôkhm vanô-î harvis*p*-tôkhm, mîyâno-i zarâh-i Farâkhû-ka*rdo*, ba*r*â yehabûntô, mûnash hamâk sar*d*ako aûrvarâno *a*jash hamâî vakhshênd. 4. *A*fash Sênô mûrûvo

[1] MSS. [illegible].

[2] This cipher usually means 1,000, but see Bd. IX, 4.

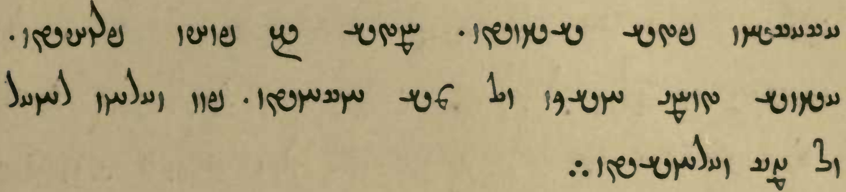
[3] BK inserts [illegible].

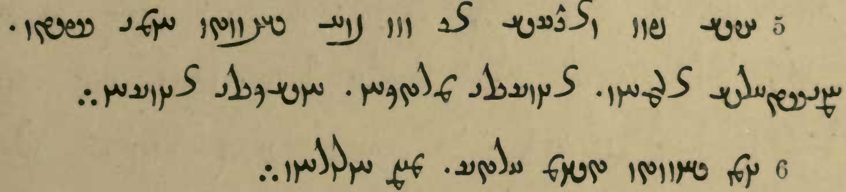
[4] MSS. [illegible].

[5] For [illegible] pavan.

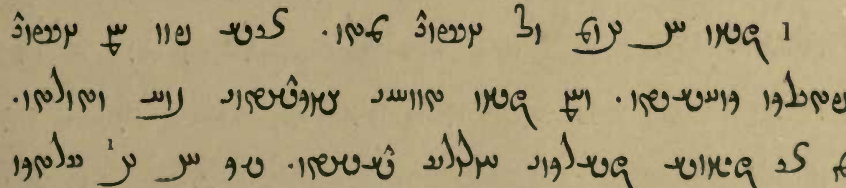
[6] MSS. [illegible], but see Bd. IX, 4.

[7] MSS. [illegible].





CHAPTER IX.



âsâyîshno pa*d*ash yakhsenunê*d*o; amatash *b*ên f*rd*zo frav*dv*ê*d*o, adînosh tôkhm-î khûshko va*l* mayâ avsânê*d*o, pavan vârâno lakhvâr va*l* zamîg vârânî-aîto.

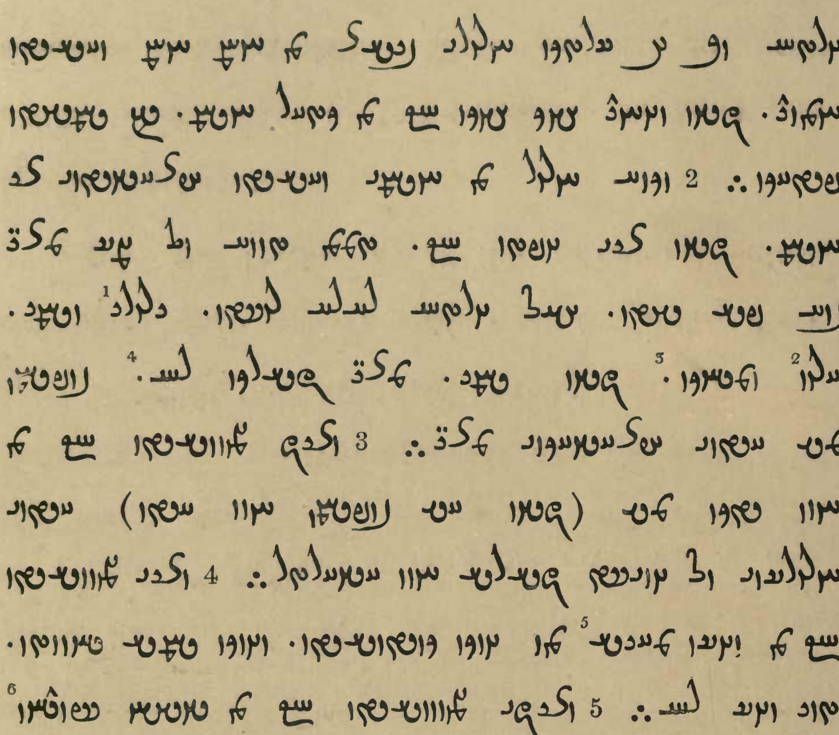
5. *A*fash pavan nazdîgîh zag vanô ba*r*â yehabûntô Hôm-î s*p*ê*d*ô, hamêstârîh-i zarmâno, zîvandaggar-î mur*d*akân, anoshakgar-î zîvandagân.

6. Den*â* yehvûntô tasûm ar*d*îg madam aûrvarâno.

CHAPTER IX.

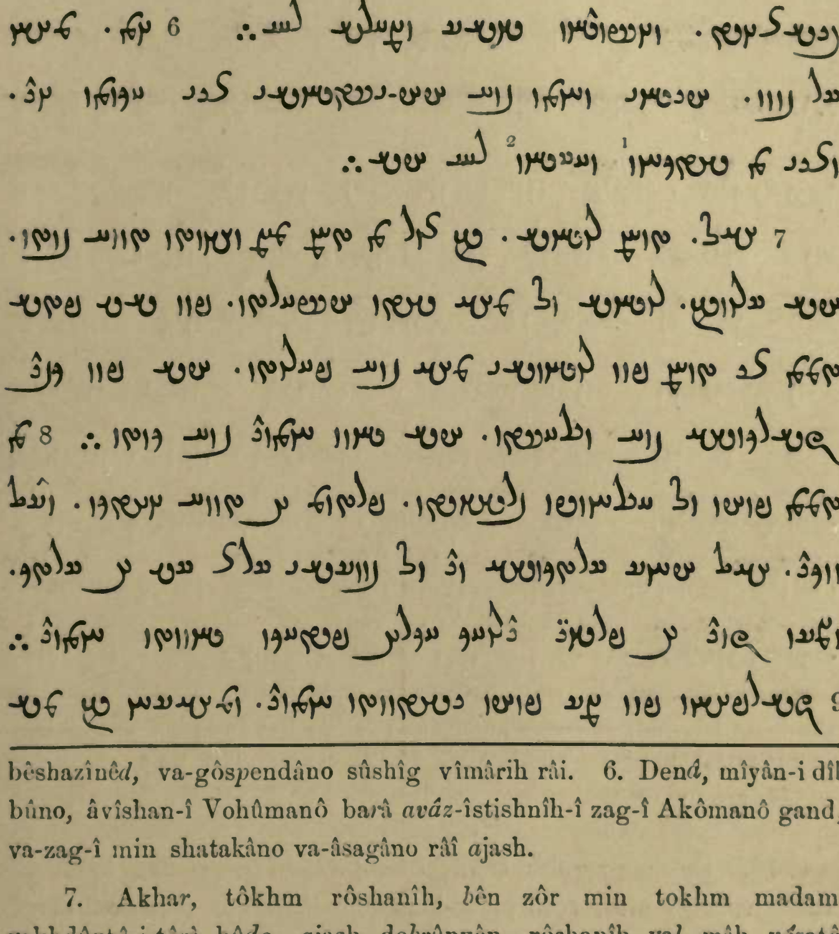
1. *C*îgûn 5-ûm va*l* gôs*p*end ma*d*o, zyash pavan ham gôs*p*end pa*d*îrako kûkhshî*d*o, va-ham *c*îgûn tô*r*âg-î aêvakdâ*d*o-î ba*r*â vi*d*ô*r*do, min zag *c*îgûnîh *c*îharako-î aûrvarîg dâshto, 55[1] sar*d*ako-i

[1] So in Bd. X, 1; XIV, 1; XXVII, 2; but here the MSS. have  57.



jûr*d*âî va-12 sar*d*ako-i aûrvar-î bêshaz min anâm anâm vakhshî*do* hav*â*nd *c*igûn vênând aêvak aêvako aêgh min ka*d*âr andâm, *b*ên Dâmdâ*do* pê*d*âko. 2. Va ko*l*â aûrvar min andâm-ê vakhshî*do* *a*fzâyînê*do*-î zag andâm, *c*îgûn zag-î gûfto aêgh; tam*â* tô*r*â va*l* zamîg mazg ba*r*â fash dâ*d*o, akha*r* jûr*d*âê lâlâ rûstô, galolag[1] va-shamag, alûn[2] va-mashûko[3]; *c*îgûn shamag, mazg *c*iharako râî, benafsh*â* mas aîto-î *a*fzâyînâko-î mazg. 3. Va-zag-ic yema*l*e*l*unî-aîto aêgh min khûno ga*d*uko mas (*c*îgûn âs benafsh*â* khûno aîto) aîto-i aûrvarîgo-î va*l* dû*r*êst *c*îharih-i khûno aîyyârtar. 4. Va-zag-î yema*l*e*l*uni-aîto aêgh min vînîgo mâîsh[5] mûn dônako ka*r*îtunî-aîto, va-gûnako-i shamagah yehvûntô, tanê vînîg râî. 5. Va-zag-i*c*-î yema*l*e*l*ûnî-aîto aêgh min sûshân si*p*andâno[6]

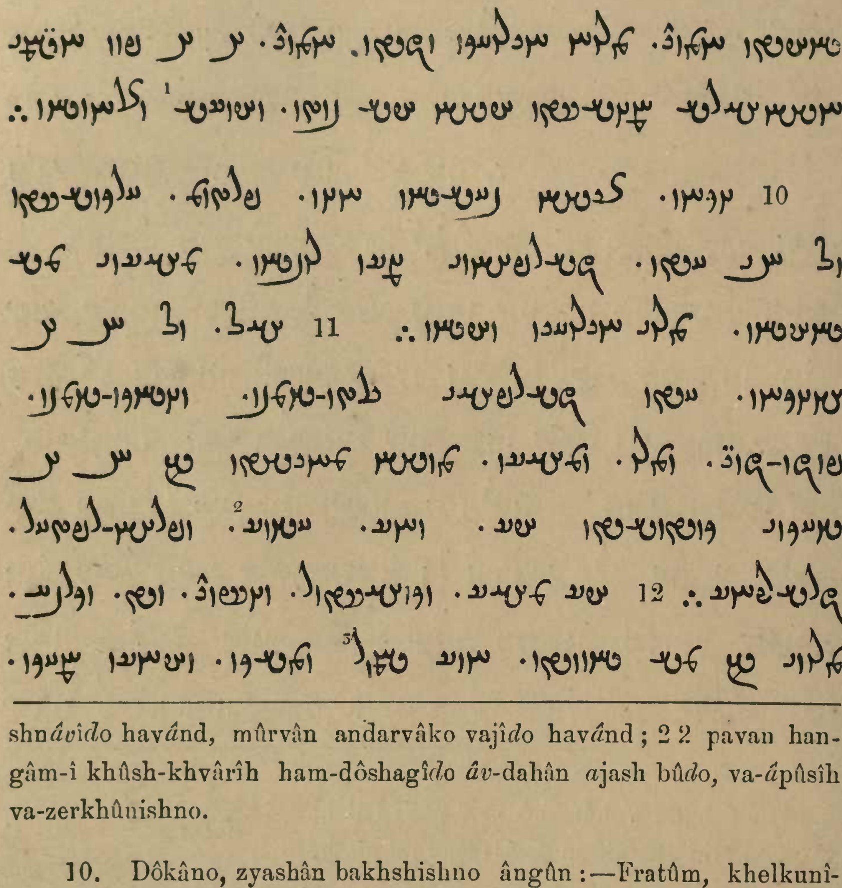
[1] Perhaps for Pers. ghallah.
[2] Pers. alum, or arzan.
[3] Pers. mashû, or mashang.
[4] MSS. [illegible].
[5] Pers. mâsh.
[6] MSS [illegible], but some herbs (like rue) are meant, as shown by the context.



bêshazînê*d*, va-gôs*p*endâno sûshîg vîmârih râi. 6. Den*â*, mîyân-i dîl bûno, âvîshan-î Vohûmanô ba*r*â *avâz*-îstishnîh-î zag-î Akômanô gand, va-zag-î min shatakâno va-âsagâno râî *a*jash.

7. Akha*r*, tôkhm rôshanîh, *b*ên zôr min tokhm madam vakhdûntô-i tô*r*â bû*d*o, *a*jash de*b*rûnyên, rôshanîh va*l* mâh y*ê*zatô *a*vas*p*âr*d*o; pavan gâs pa*d*ash tam*â* zag tôkhm pavan rôshanôîh-î mâh ba*r*â pâlû*d*o, *a*fash pavan kabed *c*îharakoîhâ ba*r*â vîrâsto, *a*fash *j*ânva*r*-aûmônd ba*r*â ka*r*do. 8. Min tam*â* *frâz*o va*l* Aîrân-vêjô brâhînî*d*o, fratûm 2 tô*r*â yûkhtako, va-zegar va-neke*b*; akha*r* *a*vârig sar*d*akoîhâ vad va*l* bûndagîh-î 282 sar*d*ak; va-zamîgo *c*aud 2 parasang daranâk-i akra*é* pê*d*âko yehvûntô havând. 9. *C*êharpââno pavan zamîg *frâz*o sagîtûntô hav*â*nd, va-mâhîgân *b*ên mayâ

[1] Pers. shatah. [2] Compare Pers. âsâ.



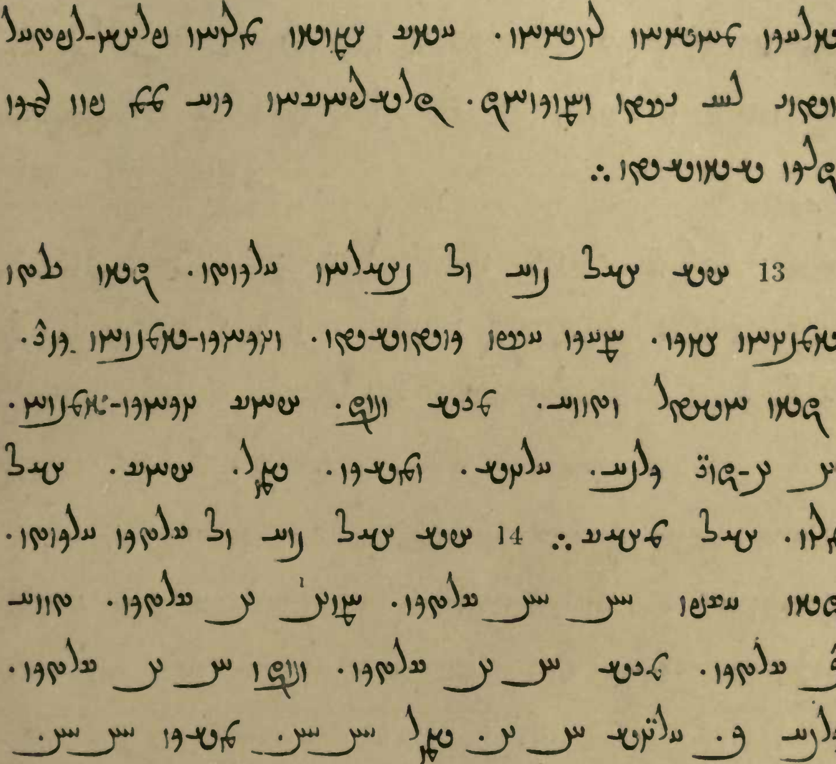
shn*âv*î*do* hav*â*nd, mûrvân andarvâko vajî*do* hav*â*nd; 2 2 pavan hangâm-î khûsh-khvârîh ham-dôshagî*d*o *âv*-dahân *a*jash bû*do*, va-*â*pûsîh va-zerkhûnishno.

10. Dôkâno, zyashân bakhshishno ângûn:—Fratûm, khelkunîhasto va*l* 3-î aîto, *c*êharpââno-î *z*amîgo-rûbishno, mâhîgo-î mayâ-shn*âv*ishno, mûrv-î andarvâgo-v*â*jishno. 11. Akha*r*, va*l* 5 âyûînakâno, aîto *c*êharpâyag-î gir*do*-sûmbo, va-dôgânako-sûmbo, panjo-*c*ang, va-mûrv, va-mâhîgo, mûnshân mânîshto *b*ên 5 *z*îvâko-î ka*r*îtunî-aîto *â*vîg, va-khanîg, khayînoîg, va-farâkhû-raftâr, *c*arag-ar'jânîg. 12 *Â*vîg mâhîg, va-ko*lâ*-*aê* stôr, va-gôs*p*end, va-da*d*, va-kalbâ, mûrûv-î *b*ên mayâ yehvûnê*do*; khanoîg shamûr,[3] va-mûshko va-*av*â*r*igo hamâko

[1] MSS. [illegible]

[2] Compare Pers. khâyah, "egg."

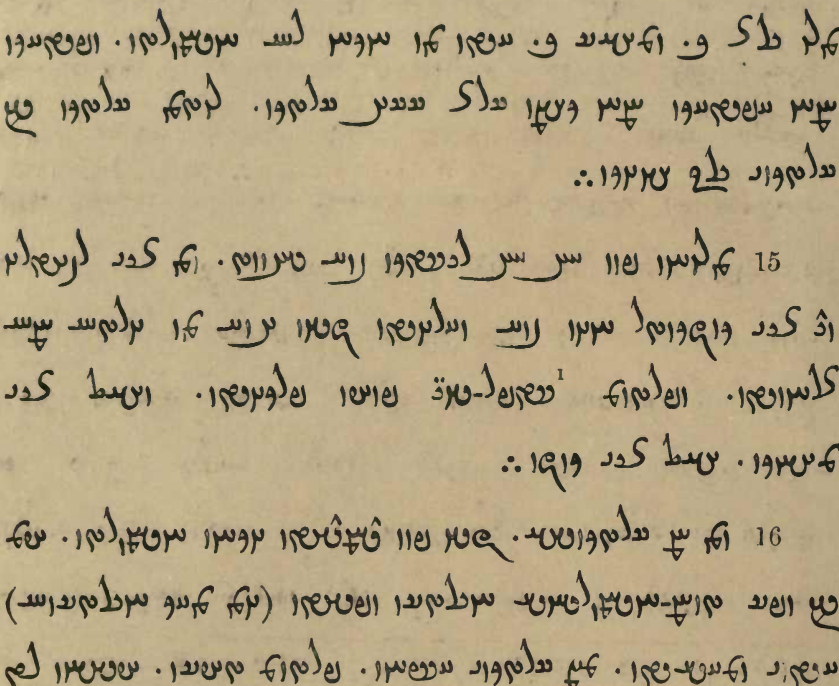
[3] Arab. sammûr, "the sable"; see §§ 13, 14. 21.



sûrâko-mânishnâno rûbishnâno; khayînîg haîmôg-gûn mûrvâno; farâkhû-raftâr vî*d*o-î râî jasto va-hamôkûnân-ic; *c*arag-ar'jânîgâno ko*l*â m*â* pavan ramako *c*arako yakhsenunî-aîto.

13. *A*fash akha*r* barâ va*l* bâharâno khelkuntô, *c*îgûn gir*d*o-sûmbînâno aêvako, hamâko as*p*ô ka*r*îtunî-aîto; va-dôkânako-sûmboâno kabed, *c*îgûn aûshtar va-tô*r*â, mêsh va-bû*z*, *avâ*r*î*g dôkânako-sûmboân; 5-*c*ang kalbâ, khargôsh, va-mûshko, samûr *avâ*r*î*g; akha*r* mûrûv, akha*r* mâhîg. 14. *A*fash akha*r* barâ va*l* sar*d*ako khelkuntô, *c*îgûn aspô 8 sar*d*ako, khamar*â*[1] 2 sar*d*ako, tô*r*â 10 sar*d*ako, mêsh 5 sar*d*ako va-bû*z*o 5 sar*d*ako, kalbâ 10, khargôsh 5, samûr 8, mûshko 8,

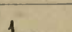
[1] Or it may stand for gam*l*â, "the camel"; see § 17.



mûrv 110, va-mâhîg 10; aîto mûn khûkân râî aûshmûr*d*o, va-pê*d*âko hamân apê*d*âko hamân kâdmon, 282 sar*d*ako; levat*â* sar*d*ako *b*ên sar*d*ako-*1* 1000 âyûînako.

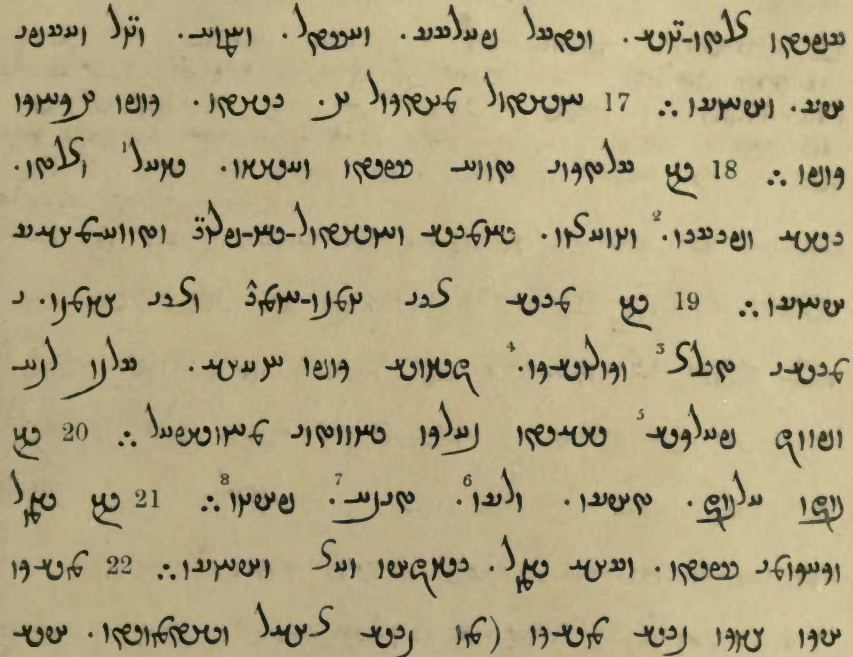
15. Mûrvâno pavan 8 rîstako[2] bar*â* yehabûn*d*, va-min zag-î rabâtarîn vad zag-î kûcakotar ângûn bar*â* vâlînî*d*ô *c*îgûn gabr*â* mûn jûr*d*âê hamâî zerkhûnê*d*o, va-fratûm sta*v*ar-sang fr*â*zo parkênê*d*o, va-akhar zag-î mîyânako, akhar zag-î kûco.

16. Va-min ham sar*d*akoîhâ *c*îgûn pavan Dâm-dâ*d*o dôkâno aûshmûr*d*o, *a*fam *b*ên nipîg-i Tôkhm-aûshmûrishnîh-i hangar*d*îgo nipishto (den*â* mar*â*k[3] hangar*d*îgo-aê) aîto-î numâî-aîto, madam sar*d*ako-î as*p*âno, fratûm T*á*zîgo, *a*fshâno ra*d*

[1] MSS. 

[2] Compare Pers. rishtah.

[3] Chald. mâ*r*ô, "lord," or mâ*l*ê, "full," both of which end with *aleph*; the addition of the Pahl. suffix *k* to a Semitic final *aleph* is incorrect, but not uncommon.

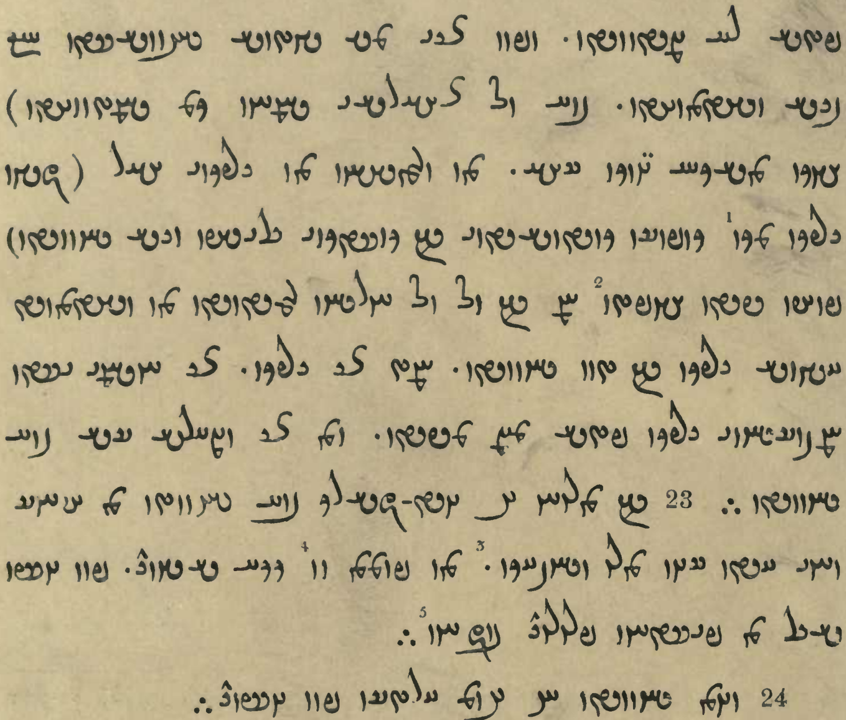


spêtô zar*d*o-gôsh, va-da*d*îgar Pârsîg, va-astar, va-khamar*â*, va-gôr va-asp-î *â*v*î*g, va-*av*âr*î*go. 17. Aûshtûr mâ*d*akvar 2, dashto, kôfô-i 2-kânako-kôfô. 18. *B*ên sar*d*ako-î tôr*â* s*p*êtô va-hashgûn sûkhar va-zar*d*o, sîyah va-pêsago, va-gôvâzauo, gâô-mêsh, va-aûshtûr-gâô-palang, va-tôr*â*-mâhîg, va-*av*âr*î*go. 19. *B*ên mêsh zag-î dûmbo-aûmand va-zag-î adûmbo, va-mêsh-î tagal-iz [3] va-kûrûshko-i, *c*igûnash kôfô-khabâyih, srubô-i rabâ, va-pavan-ic pârkîh shâya*do*, bârako yehvûnto-î Mânûsh*c*ihar. 20. *B*ên bûzo kharbûz, T*â*zîgo, varîgo,[6] tîbâ,[7] p*â*zîno. 21. *B*ên samûr kâkûm-î s*p*êtô, va-sîyah samûr, sînj*â*vo, va-khaz, va-*av*âr*î*go. 22. Mûshko-î n*â*fako aêvako bîsh mûshko (mûn bîsh zâhar vashtamûnê*do*, *a*fash

[1] MSS. [Pahlavi]. [2] MSS. [Pahlavi].

[3] For [Pahlavi] tugal-i*c*; compare Pers. tughal, "sheepfold."

[4] Kurishk in Bd. XIV, 15. [5] Compare Arab. fârih. [6] Pers. barah
[7] Chald. tabyâ, "the gazelle." [8] Pers. pâzan.



pa*d*ash lâ yemîtûnê*do*, va-pavan zag-î mas sû*d*oîh yehabûnî-hasto aêgh bêsh vashtamûnâ*do*, ba*r*â va*l* zâharîh-î dâmâno kam yehamtûnâ*do*), aêvako mûshk-aê-i gûnako-i sîyah, mûn val*á*shâno mûn gar'zako-î khâr *c*îgûn gar'zako-i mako[1]-i kôfôîgo ka*r*îtunî-aîto-î *b*ên kûstako-î darîy*d*vo vêsh yehvûnê*do*) f*râ*zo g*a*zî*d*o ayûfto[2]; ham *b*ên va*l* va*l* khûrishno ramîtunê*do*, mûn vashtamûnê*d*, adînosh gar'zako *b*ên tano yehvûnê*do*, amat zag gar'zako zag hangâm-î jasto, ham-bandaggâno-î gar'zako pa*d*ash madam m*ê*zê*do*, va-min zag vîmârîh dakyâ ba*r*â yehvûnê*do*.

23. *B*ên mûrvân 2 gvî*d*-*c*îharako ba*r*â yehabûntô min *a*vâ*r*îg, va-ân-î aîto sênô-mûrv va-shôbâko,[3] mun pûm*á* vun[4]-i kakâ yakhsenund, pavangôs*p*endshîrm in pîstâno parvarend bô*c*âno.[5]

24. Va-den*á* yehvûnê*do* 5-ûm ar*d*îgo pavan gôs*p*end.

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[1] Pers. magh. [2] Compare Pers. yûbidan. [3] Pers. shabân.
[4] Pers. bun, or bûn. [5] Compare Pers. ba*c*agân.

E. W. WEST.